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Christoph & Andreas Arnold and England

The travels and book-collections of
two seventeenth-century Nurembergers

F. J. M. Blom

CHRISTOPH & ANDREAS ARNOLD
AND
ENGLAND

Promotor: Prof. T.A.Birrell



Christoph. Arnold. Prof. Gymn. Norib. publ. et Duc. Illir.
Natus d. 12. April. 1627. Denatus d. ult. Jun. 1688.
Symbel. Contemni Amo.
Tutus amas contemni: hoc non oblaui: iuvenes.
Principis exemplo. Te colueris suri.

From *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* (1725) by courtesy of the
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C H R I S T O P H & A N D R E A S A R N O L D
A N D
E N G L A N D

THE TRAVELS AND BOOK-COLLECTIONS OF
TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NUREMBERGERS

Proefschrift

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ABBREVIATIONS

ES	<i>Epistolae Selectiones Georgii Richteri</i> (Norimbergae, 1662)
BA	<i>Bibliotheca Arnoldiana</i>
SBN	Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg
EB	List of English books in BA (see pp. 122-146)
LB	List of Latin works printed in the British Isles in BA (see pp. 153-170)
TB	List of translations of English works in BA (see pp.147-152)
CB	List of Latin editions of British authors printed abroad in BA (see pp. 171-178)

For abbreviations see also pp. 17 and 120.

When Daniel Georg Morhof in his *Polyhistor* (1688) wanted to give a picture of Cambridge University Library, he quoted a passage from one of the letters of Christoph Arnold (1627-1685), a German scholar who visited England in 1651. In doing so Morhof set an example for a whole series of writers about English institutions and people up to the present day: one of the most recent authors to use Arnold as an informant is Christopher Hill in his *Milton and the English Revolution* (1977). With reference to Milton the point can be made that in the major biographies of this writer, those by Masson and Parker, mention is made of Milton's signature in Christoph Arnold's album amicorum, and certain passages from Arnold's letters to his correspondent Georg Richter are cited again and again. Nevertheless so far no attempt has been made to extend our knowledge of Arnold beyond the basic information that he was "a German traveller from Nuremberg".

Who was this Christoph Arnold? An examination of his album amicorum, his correspondence and publications, and of the sale catalogue of the library that he built up together with his son, reveal that Arnold's importance is certainly not limited to a brief meeting with Milton and the much quoted letter to Richter. His album amicorum and his letters show that he was in touch with many prominent English as well as other European scholars and that he took a lively interest in the world around him and in the scholarly achievements of his day. From the sale catalogue of his library it is apparent that he was an avid book-collector whose library contained a considerable number of English works.

Christoph was not the only member of the Arnold family to have English contacts. His son Andreas (1656-1694) visited England thirty years later, stayed there for more than a year and moved in circles of the Royal Society. Like his father he maintained contacts with many members of the contemporary world of learning and he, too, collected English books which found their way to the library of the Arnolds.

The literary relations between England and Germany in the seventeenth century have figured in a number of studies, notably the one by Waterhouse (1914). However, till now this subject has always been approached along very general lines. This monograph endeavours to examine in detail what the concrete impact of these relations was in the specific cases of two Nuremberg scholars. Thus, ample attention will be paid to the lives of the Arnolds and especially to their travels to England and a survey will be given of their albums amicorum. Like many seventeenth-century scholars they were great letter-writers and their letters, in particular the correspondence

between father and son during the latter's travels, will be dealt with extensively. Of particular interest is Christoph's letter to Richter mentioned above and a translation of the complete letter will be given in an appendix. A survey of the library of the Arnolds with the emphasis on the books related to England will conclude this study of "two German travellers from Nuremberg".

THE LIVES OF CHRISTOPH AND ANDREAS ARNOLD

The present study will discuss some aspects of the literary relations between England and Germany in the second half of the seventeenth century and in particular the parts played in this respect by the Nurembergers Christoph and Andreas Arnold, father and son. In order to provide the right perspective and to fill in the necessary background, it is useful first of all to give a brief survey of the lives of the Arnolds, the more so since, apart from a few entries in biographical lexica, this has not been done before¹. Since the history of the Arnold family is bound up with Nuremberg a brief account of this city is prefixed to the actual biographies of Christoph and Andreas Arnold.

Nuremberg possessed the status of a free imperial town, a "Reichsstadt", with its own city government, only dependent (and that mainly nominally) on the Emperor of the German Empire, or the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation as it was officially called, and its own territory. In the late Middle Ages and especially in the sixteenth century it had been the richest and most influential of the imperial towns and, although this was no longer the case by the middle of the seventeenth century, it was still a city of considerable importance. The main source of Nuremberg's wealth had been the eastern and mediterranean trade but with the recession in this trade due to the development of new sea-routes and increasing national protectionism, and also as a result of the devastating Thirty Years' War, a gradual decline set in which was to continue throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and eventually ended in the annexation by Bavaria in 1806.

Nuremberg was a Protestant town in the middle of the mainly Protestant area of Middle Franconia but otherwise surrounded, especially on the south and west, by Catholic territory, a fact of considerable importance in seventeenth-century Germany. It had been the first of the imperial towns to go over to the side of the Reformation and as early as 1525 it had become a Lutheran stronghold. In the middle of the seventeenth century it was still an important centre of Lutheran religious life.

Nuremberg had its own university in Altdorf, a quiet provincial town some fifteen miles to the south-east. This university was founded in the early seventeenth century and provided higher education for many students from Nuremberg².

1. Christoph Arnold

Christoph Arnold was born on 12 April 1627³ in Hersbrück, a small town not far from Nuremberg and part of its territory. The Arnold family had lived in this place for several generations. Christoph Arnold's grandfather, Ludwig, was a Hersbrück citizen and brewer. His son Caspar Arnold (1599-1666) did not follow in his father's footsteps, but became a Lutheran clergyman, thereby establishing a new family tradition. In 1623 he married Sabina Keblin and in the same year he was called to the pulpit of Kirchensittenbach, a picturesque little village a few miles from Hersbrück. Four years later, in 1627, Christoph, who was to be the only surviving child, was born. In 1642 Caspar Arnold became Diaconus⁴ of St. Sebald's, one of the two main churches of Nuremberg, in which office he remained till his death in 1666. A few of his sermons were published in 1662.⁵ After Caspar Arnold's appointment the family moved to Nuremberg and there Christoph Arnold went to the "Aegidien-gymnasium", the grammar-school of Nuremberg, which he attended from 1642 till 1644. In the latter year he entered Altdorf University, the usual next step for a Nuremberg youth in his situation and quite in line with the family tradition. His father had studied there from 1615 till 1620, and also Christoph Arnold's son Andreas was to go there in the 1670s. Christoph spent five years at Altdorf, from 1644 till 1649, reading theology and philology. His teachers at that time were the theologian Theodor Hackspan (1607-1659) and the historian Christoph Adam Ruprecht (1612-1647), quite famous men in their day.

Not much is known about his period at the University. In 1646 he delivered an address *De Constantino M. Christiano imperatore primo, contra obtrectatores eiusdem*⁶ and in 1649 he received the degree of Magister after defending *Septem quaestiunculae philosophicae*⁷ under Felwinger.⁸ The only other remarkable fact about the period up to 1649 is that Arnold became a member of the *Pegnesischer Blumenorden*,⁹ one of the many literary societies founded in Germany in the seventeenth century after the example of the *fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* or *Palmorden*.¹⁰ The general idea behind all these societies was to raise the standard of German poetry by improvement and purification of the German language. In the years 1644-1645 the Pegnitz Order, named after the river which flows through Nuremberg, was founded by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-1658) and Johann Klaj (1616-1656) and very soon the third major figure in the group, Sigismund Betulius (later Von Birken) (1626-1681) joined the society.

The members may have set themselves the task to improve and purify German poetry, but their admiration for the pastoral poets of Italy, Spain and also England proved to be a rather negative influence. As Karl Goedeke puts it:

Der Pegnesische Blumenorden oder die Gesellschaft der Schäfer an der Pegnitz war dem Character ihres Haupt-

urhebers (Harsdörffer) entsprechend in Grundlage und Ausbildung kindische Spielerei und mehr als die übrigen durch geistlose Nachäfferei des Auslandes, namentlich Spaniens, für die Entwürdigung der Dichtung die sie zu adeln meinte, mit Erfolg tätig.¹¹

Goedeke's opinion represents the typical approach of the nineteenth-century literary historian, particularly sensitive to "Ausländerei", the slavish imitation of foreign models. But a twentieth-century critic, Faber du Faur, does not give a very positive picture either:

The Shepherds of the Pegnitz created a new unreal world, an Arcadia in which reality had no part, a world of backstage and theater which offered delightful perspectives as long as one looked at it from the right direction and in the proper light. But once one observed sideways, everything became cardboard and paste.¹²

Christoph Arnold was one of the first members of the order. He is number six on the list and was accepted into the society under the name Lorian as early as 1645 when he was still a student.¹³ Nevertheless he does not seem to have played an important role. On the whole he limited his productivity to a few contributions to common projects, especially in the field of occasional poetry for weddings. There is one exception. In 1649 we find the publication of a short work by Christoph called *Kunstspiegel Hoch-deutscher Sprache*. It is a combination of poems and short essays, dominated by one theme: the beauty and strength of the German language, its fitness for poetical purposes and a defence of its qualities as compared to Latin and other European languages. The *Kunstspiegel* is a perfect illustration of the ideas behind the "Sprachgesellschaften" - Christoph mentions the role of the *fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in the encouragement of the use of the German language - but the attempts by Christoph to demonstrate the imaginative and creative force of his native tongue in a number of poems are not very convincing, to put it mildly. In the following extract the preparations before a battle are being described:

Höret! es lüdeln und düdeln die Flöten,
Trarara, Trarara thun die Trompeten:
Es brummeln die Trummeln
Es schlattern die Gattern
Es zittern die Flittern:
Höret! wie rasseln und prasseln
Wie schnarzen und knarzen
Wie pollern und kollern
Wie stolpern und holpern
Die rumplenden Wegen
Sehet! wie funkern die Degen

Wie glimmern und schimmern
Wie glitzen und schwitzen
Wie dröhnen und thönen die Schilde!

Christoph's comment is: "Sage mir, ob in der ganzen weiten Welt irgend einige Mundart zu finden ist, die etwa eine zum Sturm gerüste Schlachtordnung ungefähr also vorstellig machen könnte". The implied answer to this rhetorical question is of course that there is no other language that can do the same thing and has the same onomatopoeic resources. Perhaps Christoph is right, but, although he certainly gives a remarkable list of sound-imitating verbs, this alone is of course not enough to make good poetry. As a religious poet, however, Christoph's achievement is more impressive. He wrote a great number of hymns to which we will refer later.¹⁴

The main concern of this study is not the position of Christoph Arnold as a German poet, nor an evaluation of the poetry produced by the Pegnitz Order. There is, however, one side to this society which seems to be important within the scope of the present study and that is the influence of English literature and England. It is quite obvious that Sidney's *Arcadia* had made a strong impression on the early members of the Pegnitz Order. It was the custom within the society to adopt a pseudonym and a few early members chose a name derived from the *Arcadia*.¹⁵ It is also a fact that many members of the Pegnitz Order visited England. The travels of Harsdörffer, Christoph Wegleiter, Joachim Negelein, Martin Kempe, and Furer von Haimendorf show that Christoph Arnold's journey to England was not exceptional.¹⁶

The year 1649 is an important landmark in Christoph's life. It was in this year that, having finished his studies at Altdorf, he set out on his "Grand Tour" or "Cavaliersreise". He went for a trip of about three years to Holland and England, of which the major part was spent in Holland. There are two important sources for our knowledge of Arnold's years abroad. First of all there is his "Stammbuch" or album amicorum.¹⁷ This was a small oblong book with blank pages, procured by practically every German student when he intended to begin his Grand Tour. The idea was that as soon as the student happened to meet an important, well-known man, especially in the field of learning, he produced his album and asked for an autograph, a motto, a drawing (preferably of the man's coat of arms) or any other inscription, so that after his journey the traveller could show in what good company he had been. In the sixteenth century Melancthon, who himself possessed an album and collected autographs, felt that there was some moral and educational value in the custom:

These little books certainly have their uses:
above all they remind the owners of people, and
at the same time bring to mind the wise teaching
which has been inscribed in them, and as they serve
as a reminder to the younger students to be

industrious in order that the professor may inscribe some kind and commendatory words on parting so that they may always prove themselves brave and virtuous during the remainder of their lives, inspired, even if only through the names of good men, to follow their example. At the same time the inscription itself teaches knowledge of the character of the contributor, and quite often significant passages from otherwise unknown and little-read authors are found in albums. Finally, they record biographical details which would otherwise be forgotten.¹⁸

Two centuries later, however, Lord Chesterfield, in one of his letters to his son, is more sceptical:

Make the same enquiries, wherever you are, concerning the revenues, the military establishments, the trade, the commerce and the police of every country. And you would do well to keep a blank paper book, which the Germans call an Album; and there, instead of desiring, as they do, every fool they meet with to scribble something, write down all these things as soon as they come to your knowledge from good authority.¹⁹

At the time when the latter pronounced his harsh judgement, more than enough justification for it could be found. But Chesterfield was writing more than a hundred years after the period when Christoph Arnold filled his album; judging from the autographs that Christoph collected we certainly cannot maintain that he asked every fool he met to put down his name in the album. It is obvious that on the whole he carefully selected his "victims" and the list of famous people in his album is an impressive one. Thanks to this album we can reconstruct with great accuracy Christoph's Grand Tour in the years 1649-1652.²⁰

The second important source for our knowledge of this period of Christoph's life is his correspondence with Georg Richter (1592-1651), Pro-Chancellor of Altdorf University and 35 years older than Christoph Arnold. Quite naturally the relation between the two was more that of a father and son than that of two friends on equal terms. Christoph Arnold plays the part of the young enthusiastic traveller, talking nineteen to the dozen about everything he has heard and seen, whereas Georg Richter is more of a sounding-board. All in all there are six letters, four long ones by Christoph, two short replies by Richter. The letters, published in *Epistolae Selectiores Georgii Richteri* (Nuremberg, 1662) provide very interesting information about this period in Christoph's life. They display his interests, especially in the field of old and new publications in the world of learning, show his views on the political and religious situation in Holland and England, and give information

about the people he met and what he thought of them, thus providing a valuable addition to the information contained in the album. With the help of these two main sources, the album and the Arnold-Richter correspondence, it is possible to give a fairly accurate picture of Christoph's years abroad.

At Altdorf, in June 1649, when he was about to set out on his tour, Christoph collected his first autographs. He asked most of his professors and some of his fellow-students to sign the album. By the middle of July he went to Nuremberg and there the company of those who signed is more mixed. We find the names of important patricians, the poets Harsdörffer and Betulius (Von Birken), and a number of physicians and divines. Altogether thirty people signed the album in Altdorf and Nuremberg during the summer of 1649. Besides the usual stock phrases, the entries contain in many cases information about Christoph's plans and friendships. Many people express their best wishes for his trip, others refer to his successful study of theology and philology; Harsdörffer calls him his very good friend and Betulius and Johann Gräffius explicitly mention Holland as his goal. It would seem that Holland was Christoph's main object and that England was not thought of yet, at least not by his well-wishers.

Christoph must have left Nuremberg on the sixth or seventh of October 1649. The last Nuremberg entry is dated 6 October 1649, the next one (by Johann Hagelgans) 7 October 1649 in Coburg, 60 miles north of Nuremberg. During the month of October Christoph travels to the north. On the thirteenth he is in Wolfenbüttel where he meets the linguist Justus Georg Schottelius, the inventor of the semi-colon, two days later he is in Lüneburg where the poet Joachim Pipenburg, a member of the *fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, signs his album; and by 18 October he has arrived in Hamburg. Between 18 and 24 October we find the names of Johann Freher, Johann Balthasar Schuppe, Stephan Pessler, Jacobus Grosse, Michael Finckler and Eberhart Moller.

Why did Christoph take this particular route? It is certainly not the shortest way to Holland. It could be that he wanted to meet some people in northern Germany (Schottelius, for instance, was a friend of Sigismund Betulius), but it is also possible that Christoph's detour was caused by the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, which had only ended in 1648. The mutual antagonism among the Protestant and Catholic States in Germany was still very strong, foreign troops were to be found everywhere and it was not before 1649 that in Nuremberg the peace was finally settled.²¹ By travelling north Christoph could avoid the Catholic areas along the Rhine. The fact that he dedicated his *Kunstspiegel* (published September 1649) to two Swedish generals (Wrangel and Von der Linden) is perhaps an indication that he hoped for favourable treatment from the Protestant armies.²²

The first indication of Christoph's presence in Holland is an entry by a certain Georg Andreas Richter in Amsterdam, dated 10 November 1649. The fact that he bears the same name as Christoph's

friend and correspondent Georg Richter suggests family relationship but this does not become clear from Christoph's letter. There are two other Amsterdam entries round about this time, one by the Lutheran minister Adolphus Visscher, the other one by a certain Herman Cappelen. Both entries are from 13 November. In his letter to Richter of 2 August 1650 he gives an account of his first eight months in Holland. The first few days were spent in Amsterdam and he was received very hospitably by a merchant whose name he does not give. This could be Herman Cappelen. He met Adolphus Visscher who accompanied him after a few days to Haarlem and introduced him to Theodor Graswinckel, a prominent lawyer and poet. Christoph and Graswinckel travelled together to Leyden where Christoph did not lose much time in starting his academic studies: he matriculated in Leyden on 17 November 1649 as a student of the liberal arts. He seems to have spent most of the following six months in Leyden. There are a few Leyden entries in April and May 1650 containing the names of Spanheim, Blanckaert and Ledebuhr. For the rest nothing of great importance seems to have happened. Perhaps it was during this period that Christoph wrote his short pamphlet *Templum Pacis Germanicae* (Leyden, 1650) in praise of the role of his native town in the final settlement of the Thirty Years' War.

In June 1650 Christoph made a trip to Harderwijk and Deventer. A detailed account is given in his letter of 2 August 1650, and his album is another source of evidence. He first of all went to Amsterdam and embarked for Harderwijk where he paid his respects to Georgius Hornius on 1 June 1650. He showed special interest in Hornius's book *Res Britannicae*,²³ a work about the contemporary history of England and the other parts of Britain. Hornius presented him with a copy which he read during the remainder of his journey to Deventer. Another work by Hornius, *De Statu Ecclesiae Britannicae*, containing a description of the religious situation in England at that moment, was also noticed by Christoph. In this connection he mentions a work by Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena*²⁴ ("an admirable survey of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and sects in present-day England", Christoph states), and expresses his intention to go to England himself where, as he says, "I will try to lay my hands on this book", which indeed he did. From Harderwijk he travelled on to Deventer where he met Johannes Fredericus Gronovius who showed him round the town and introduced him to the library. Christoph records a very long discussion about Erasmus and about the learned commentaries on his works.²⁵ The next day he returned to Harderwijk where he called on Gisbertus ab Isendoorn and on the same day he left for Amsterdam in spite of unfavourable weather.

England and English matters gradually take up a more important place in Christoph's letters during this period. Christoph mentions an incident in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam where signs of the new English Republic were placed and removed and he notices Salmasius's work *Defensio Regia Pro Carolo I.*²⁶ Another noticeable feature in

the letter of August 1650 is the interest he shows in archeology. He translated into Latin a work by Boxhornius about archeological finds on the island of Walcheren,²⁷ and calls it a good exercise to improve his mastery of Dutch.

During the rest of 1650 and the first half of 1651 Christoph Arnold remained in Holland and made the acquaintance of a considerable number of famous people. He managed to get the autographs of Georg Gentius, Theodor Graswinckel, Jacob Cats, Nicolaus Heinsius, Johannes Coccejus, Frans van Schooten, Daniel Heinsius and Bernard Schotanus. The latter two seem to have been on good terms with Georg Richter since he inquires after them with great interest in his letters and they also send their regards through Christoph to Richter.²⁸

In a letter, dated 4 April 1651, Christoph gives a description of the funeral of the Dutch prince and the state of tension around the presence of the representatives of the new English Republic, among whom there was a regicide, while the future Charles II was in Breda.²⁹ Interest is also shown in Milton's treatise *Pro Populo Anglicano*, an answer to Salmasius's work mentioned before.³⁰

In June 1651 Christoph leaves for a short trip to Belgium. Passing through Antwerp on 26 June his travelling-companion, a certain Tizidazicus Ludovicus Brandis, signs his album. His short tour of Flanders and Brabant included Brussels, where he met Laurentius Chiffletius S.J., and Louvain, where he was on 29 June and saw some local celebrations in honour of Sts. Peter and Paul. By 6 July he was back in Holland and embarked at Rotterdam for England where he arrived four days later.³¹

In England Christoph visited London, Oxford and Cambridge, where he managed to get into contact with many important people. Selden, Durie, Sir William Petty, and above all John Milton should be mentioned here. His initial plan had been to spend the winter in England (he had asked permission from his parents through Richter), but the threat of an Anglo-Dutch war made him decide to return to Holland as early as November or December 1651. Back in Holland he prepared the publication of his commentary on Cato's *Dirae*, an old plan mentioned as early as 1649.³² As far as one can make out he spent the rest of his time in Holland mainly in Leyden. There is a short trip to Utrecht in May 1652, a few weeks before he finally left Holland. Voetius was one of the people who signed his album there.

In going back to Nuremberg Christoph Arnold apparently made the same northern detour as nearly three years before. We find him on 21 June 1652 in Groningen, meeting Maresius, Pasor, Alting and Schoockius. He is back home in Nuremberg on 4 July.

Christoph Arnold settled down quickly. On 12 December 1652 he became Professor of Greek, Rhetoric, Poetry and History at the "Aegidien-gymnasium", his old school, and about a year later, on 30 November 1653, he was ordained Diaconus of the Marienkirche; he was to keep both functions till the end of his life. On 19 April

1653 he married Sybilla Deinhard and this marriage was to last thirteen years, till 1666, when Sybilla died shortly after she had given birth to a dead child. Four other children had been born out of this marriage: Magdalena Sybilla (1654), Andreas (1656), Anna Sabina (1659) and Georg Christoph (1661), of whom only Andreas survived. After the death of his first wife Christoph Arnold married for a second time in 1667. His second wife, Anna Maria Franzel, gave him two children, Johann Christoph, who died at the age of two, and Anna Regina, who lived to marry the Nuremberg merchant Rupert Göz in 1690.³³

Christoph led a quiet, industrious life, displaying activities mainly in three fields: religion, poetry, and scholarship. Apart from his work for the Pegnitz Order and some occasional poetry he contributed to Johann Michael Dilherr's book of emblems *Augen- und Herzenslust* (Nuremberg, 1661), for which work he wrote 90 hymns.³⁴ A number of them were reprinted in the *Nürnbergischer Gesangbuch* and became well-known.³⁵ But the writing of these hymns was something outside the scope of the Pegnitz Order. In 1678 Christoph became a member of the Accademia dei Ricoverati, a society for the cultivation of poetry and rhetoric which had its seat in Padua.³⁶ He was nominated by the Princes of the society, the Paris physician Charles Patin. Five years later Christoph's son Andreas enjoyed the same honour.

As a scholar Christoph mainly devoted himself to editorial work. Classical scholarship and philology were perhaps his main interests, but he also applied himself to archeology, numismatics, and the editing of the correspondence of scholars. He was asked by the Duke of Brunswick, Anton Ulrich,³⁷ and by the Austrian Emperor Leopold³⁸ to do editorial work. The language used in these publications was on the whole Latin, but he also edited some books in German (partly translated by himself).

Christoph Arnold kept up an extensive correspondence with many European scholars. Magliabechi, librarian of the Archduke of Florence, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, Nicolaus Heinsius, Witte, Hiob Ludolf, and Philipp Jakob Spener are some of the prominent names that could be mentioned here, but he had many more correspondents throughout Europe.³⁹ Quite a few of his letters are still extant in print or manuscript.

Arnold did not completely neglect his album and we find new entries till well into the year 1673: Jacob Balde, Jesuit and poet, in November 1652, Paulus Terhaarius, a Dutchman from Amsterdam calling at Christoph Arnold's in Nuremberg, in 1653, Nicolaus Rittershusius in Altdorf in 1659 and a Scot from Sterling, Alexander Cuninghame, in 1669. An interesting entry is the one by Christianus de Pomis. No date is given but we can conclude that it must be in the years 1668-1669 from the following evidence. De Pomis expresses his gratitude towards Christoph Arnold "who has shown me the light".

This is explained by an entry in the baptismal register of St. Sebald's, Nuremberg, which records that on 21 December 1668 Christianus de Pomis, from Amsterdam and formerly a Jew, was christened, having been taught for seven weeks by Christoph Arnold.⁴⁰ It was a rare occasion: throughout the seventeenth century only six Jews were converted to Christianity in Nuremberg and they were mainly people from other places.⁴¹ Christianus de Pomis's conversion was not very successful, however. For a short period he taught Hebrew at Altdorf, but he left the town quietly in 1669 on account of his debts: he travelled to Bohemia via Lauf and Sulzbach and was never heard of again.⁴²

Another interesting aspect of the final entries in Christoph's album is formed by a group of Greek divines. There are five names. In 1665 Iosophat of Monachika, from the Peloponnesos, inscribed his name; on 18 September 1669 Petrus Vervosius, a priest from Crete who had been a slave for a couple of years, and on 20 March 1670 Daniel de Kastranaïos from Patmos. Athanasius, Archimandrite of the Holy Mountain, completed two entries, dated respectively 1 and 10 August 1673 and on 11 August we find the name of Georgius Philippus from Constantinople, apparently someone in the company of Athanasius.

A valuable source of information about the last years of Christoph Arnold's life can be found in the extensive correspondence with his son Andreas during the years 1680-1685.⁴³ In 1680 Andreas Arnold went on his Grand Tour and he stayed abroad for more than five years. Once Andreas was on his way, father and son kept up a regular correspondence; as a rule Christoph Arnold wrote once a week. The father tried to guide his son through possible difficulties, told him what to do and what not to do, inquired after the people Andreas met, and asked him to inspect, and very often to buy, all kinds of new and old books. A considerable number of these letters have been preserved and will be referred to later.

It is clear from his letters during these years that Christoph Arnold's health was deteriorating. There are many complaints about his physical condition and he certainly gives the impression of a prematurely ageing man.⁴⁴ The following impressive list of diseases from which Arnold apparently suffered could be drawn up: renal calculus, rheumatism, scurvy, atrophy, asthma and dropsy. These diseases, indeed, proved to be fatal. On 30 June 1685 he died, peacefully, at the age of 58, a couple of weeks after his son's return from abroad.

2. Andreas Arnold

Andreas Arnold, the only surviving child of Christoph Arnold's first marriage, was born on 24 March 1656 in Nuremberg. He received his first education at the well-qualified hands of his father, who taught him the first principles of Latin. For a short period he visited an ordinary primary school before he went to the "Aegidien-

gymnasium" in November 1662 at the age of six. Here in the course of nine years he received the basis for his future scholarship. He was a good student and went through his studies at high speed. Already in 1665 his knowledge of Greek astonished Iosaphat Logotheta, a Greek metropolitan who passed through Nuremberg and called on his father.⁴⁵ Outside the school curriculum his father, who was one of his teachers at the grammar-school, taught him Dutch, Hebrew, French, English and Arabic. In 1674 he entered Altdorf University where he applied himself mainly to the study of letters, but also did work in the fields of philosophy, theology and mathematics. His teachers were Felwinger, König, Wagenseil, Dürrius, Sturmius, Omeisius, Moller, Reinhart and Fabricius.⁴⁶ On 26 June 1676, he delivered a solemn address *De Sacra Mathesi* and in 1679 he received his degree after a disputation *De S. Petri Denario* for which work he made an extensive use of the English books in his father's library. By all accounts he was not only a very industrious student, carefully arranging his time and never wasting a single hour, but also handsome and polite.

Andreas Arnold left the university in December 1679 taking with him a great number of autographs in his album that he too, like his father and many of his fellow-students, had procured in anticipation of his Grand Tour.⁴⁷ From December 1678 till December 1679 we find the names of sixteen people from Altdorf, among whom there are nearly all his professors. During the winter of 1679-1680 Andreas stayed at home in Nuremberg, preparing for his foreign adventure by applying himself to the study of French. His teacher was a man from Paris, called Jean Marin. With the help of his father he continued his study of Dutch and English and he did not neglect the oriental languages, thus becoming quite a polyglot.

As far as his study of theology is concerned, Andreas Arnold made some attempt to put it into practice. He preached in the village church of Craftshof and also in the church of Wehrden, a Nuremberg suburb. According to a contemporary source he proved to be a pious, devout, modest and learned preacher, rather than someone trying to impress people by a thunderous style or by affected manners. He carefully weighed his words and adorned his sermons with taste.

Besides study and preaching Andreas found time to call on many prominent Nurembergers, whose greetings fill many pages of his album. We find the names of Nuremberg notables, divines and artists. Well-known names are those of Sigismund von Birken, president of the Pegnitz Order, and Joachim von Sandrart, painter and engraver. Anna Regina, Andreas's half-sister signed on 5 April 1680 and this marks his departure on the Grand Tour.

On 6 April Andreas Arnold left for Holland.⁴⁸ Unlike his father he did not take the northern detour but went straight to Holland via Frankfort where he arrived on 12 April. If crossing Catholic territory had been difficult or unattractive for his father, this certainly was no longer the case with Andreas. But there is perhaps another reason why he took the route via Frankfort. In this place he

paid visits to three people. the diplomat and orientalist Hiob Ludolf, the physician and linguist Sebastian Scheffer, and the prominent Lutheran pastor Philipp Jakob Spener. The latter was well-known to Christoph Arnold. He frequently refers to Spener in his correspondence⁴⁹ and he may well have arranged or suggested the Frankfort stop.

Andreas stayed in Frankfort till 15 April and then continued his journey to Holland via Cologne. By 30 April he was in Utrecht meeting Graevius, Leusden, and Petrus van Mastricht. The next day he went to call on Nicolaus Heinsius at Vianen, a visit that had been prepared by his father in his letters to Heinsius.⁵⁰ Quite naturally, Andreas wanted to keep in touch with the famous Heinsius and he became a regular correspondent of the latter.⁵¹ From Vianen Andreas went to Leyden where he arrived on 5 May and became a student at Leyden University on 18 May 1680.

Leyden became Andreas's place of residence. As was to be expected, his album contains a fair number of Leyden entries. We find the names of the professors Le Moyne, De Volder, Jacob Gronovius, Ryckius, and Spanheim. But Arnold did not confine himself to Leyden. On a short visit to Amsterdam, at the end of July 1680, he acquired the signature of Herman Cappelen, an old acquaintance of his father's. Other people he met in Amsterdam were the Lutheran ministers Paulus Wesling and Heinrich Vos. It is striking how many Lutheran clergymen we meet in Andreas's album. The fact that many of them were of German origin will have played a role. In The Hague Andreas made the acquaintance of Constantijn Huygens. At that time Christoph Arnold was working on a complete edition of the works of Marcus Velser and he had written to many of his correspondents asking for assistance. Heinsius was one of the people he had applied to and also Constantijn Huygens had offered to help. In November 1680 Andreas called on Huygens to collect some material and to thank him. Half a year later, shortly before he left for England, Andreas asked and received permission to visit Huygens's library.⁵² By this time he had also made, like his father, a round of the Belgian towns of Louvain, Brussels and Ghent.

Andreas stayed in Holland for about a year. Between 13 and 16 May 1681 he left Leyden and went, via Scheveningen, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam and Dordrecht, to Brielle where he embarked on the packet-boat for England. On 22 May, Whit Monday, he was in London.

About a year and a half were spent in England, mostly in London, but of course also partly in the scholarly haunts of Oxford and Cambridge. Once in England the first one to sign Andreas's album was Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf, future secretary to George of Denmark and author of a Russian grammar. Pretty soon Andreas travelled on to Oxford where he spent two months, and worked in the Bodleian library.

Using Andreas's album, his correspondence (there are letters to Thomas Smith and Constantijn Huygens⁵³ and from his father) and other sources we can draw up the following reconstruction of his stay in England. He was in London from May 1681 till the end of June,

then spent about two months in Oxford and was towards the end of September in Cambridge where he made the acquaintance of Henry More and Ralph Cudworth, the Cambridge Platonists. During most of his time in England, London was his place of residence, although the album shows that Andreas paid other visits to Oxford and Cambridge. His two most important friends in London were Theodore Haak through whom he came into contact with members of the Royal Society and Isaac Vossius who admitted him to his library at Windsor and who became one of his correspondents.⁵⁴ In November 1681 he was in Cambridge and managed to get Isaac Newton's autograph; the period round Christmas 1681 was spent in Oxford. Schwindel also makes mention of a trip to Canterbury where Andreas met Archbishop Sancroft and discussed Nuremberg and Altdorf scholars. This visit is not recorded in the album, however.

The last English entry dates from 21 October 1682 and Andreas was certainly in Paris by 15 December. Somewhere in between those two dates he must have crossed the English Channel. He took the Dover-Calais crossing and travelled on horseback via Abbeville and Beauvais, arriving in Paris after a pleasant and interesting four-day journey. With him he had letters of recommendation from Isaac Vossius and others, which helped him to get introduced to scholarly circles in Paris. He made a favourable impression on people like Baluzius, Bigotius, Cotelierius, Menagius, Thevenot and Pettus Petitus and was admitted to their meetings.⁵⁵ The album does not really show his manifold contacts with French scholars, however. Andreas's French period produced only four entries, and three of them are by Germans resident in Paris. It is not clear whether we have to conclude that Andreas Arnold lost interest in his album or whether French scholars were particularly reluctant to give their autographs.

Andreas stayed in Paris for nearly two and a half years, much longer than he, and his father, had planned. In his letters to his son, Christoph Arnold repeatedly requested him to come home as soon as possible. The main reason for putting off his return to Nuremberg seems to have been that he was preparing a publication, and owing to all kinds of difficulties, especially what he calls "the slowest printers in the world", this took much longer than he had expected. But eventually, in 1685, his work, the main part of which was an original text edition of the *Syntagma doctrinae* of St. Athanasius, was published. He established a certain fame in France with this work.⁵⁶

In the spring of 1685 Andreas received the message that his father was seriously ill. He decided not to postpone his return any longer and travelled as soon as possible via Nancy, Strassburg, Heidelberg and Frankfort to Nuremberg where he arrived on 12 June 1685, eighteen days before his father's death.

It is not surprising that Andreas Arnold, after such a long and thorough training, was thought fit to succeed his father in his functions. In the year 1687 he became Diaconus of the Marienkirche

and professor at his old school, the "Aegidien-gymnasium". Two years later two entries in the album show that he still had English contacts. On 6 November 1689 St. George Ashe, an Irish bishop and diplomat stationed in Vienna, and his companion Samuel Edwin passed through Nuremberg and inscribed their names in Andreas's album.

Andreas Arnold remained a bachelor for quite a long time, living with his stepmother, but in 1692 he eventually married Ester Helena Vierer, daughter of a merchant and banker. The wedding took place on 10 October 1692, but the marriage was to last only a short while. In 1694 Andreas Arnold began to suffer from a colic with heavy pains in his stomach and head. Medical assistance could not save him and he died on the last day of October 1694, without issue. Due to his untimely death his scholarly production was limited. Besides the works already mentioned he wrote some introductions to university programmes. Like his father he displayed some activity in the field of hymn-writing and some of his efforts appeared in print.

Schwindel gives a very positive picture of Andreas's character. He praises his devotion, charity, skill in teaching and preaching, his mildness and friendliness, modesty, pleasant manners, his readiness to accept tasks and his unpretentious scholarship. And Mathias König, one of his professors at Altdorf said of him:

Christoph Arnold left, after his death, his functions of Diaconus and Professor to Andreas. The latter was once my best pupil and he was also a very good friend. No one doubted that he would have published more considering his learning and intelligence.⁵⁷

3. Survey of the albums of Christoph and Andreas Arnold

Below complete lists are given of the entries in the albums of Christoph and Andreas. The entries have been arranged in chronological order, which enables one to "follow" the Arnolds on their tours. The number in the margin refers to the specific folio in the album where the entry is to be found. It is followed by the name of the contributor, a brief biographical description, and the place and date of the entry. The capital letter(s) in between brackets indicate(s) the source of the biographical information given. The following abbreviations have been used:

- (vdA) A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1852-1878);
- (ADB) *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875-1912);
- (AL) *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Den Haag, 1875);
- (B) Arnold Christian Beuthner, *Hamburgisches Staats- und Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Hamburg, 1739);
- (BDP) *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (London, 1903);
- (DNB) *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1900);
- (F) J. Forster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891);
- (MGG) *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik* (Kassel - Basel, 1949-1951);
- (J) Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1750-1751, repr. Hildesheim, 1960);
- (NNBW) *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1911-1937);
- (S) Elias von Steinmeyer, *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf* (Würzburg, 1912);
- (V) J.A. and J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922-1927);
- (W) Georg Andreas Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Nürnberg, 1755-1758).
- (Z) Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* (Leipzig und Halle, 1732-1754);

For the sake of easy reference alphabetical indices of the names of the contributors are given following the chronological lists (pp. 36-38).

Christoph Arnold - Album Amicorum 1649-1673
Chronological list of entries

f.96	Johann Ericus Calixtus (1627-?) Student at Altdorf (1648), younger son of the famous theologian Georg Calixtus, from Helmstedt (S)	Altdorf	4 June 1649
f.11	Georg König (1590-1654) Theologian and librarian, professor at Altdorf (J)	Altdorf	June 1649
f.93	Christoph Molitor (1627-1674) Orientalist, professor at Altdorf (J)	Altdorf	June 1649
f.100	Konrad Schwartzkopf Student at Altdorf (1649), son of the Chancellor of Braunschweig-Lüneburg Johann Schwartzkopf (1596-1659) (J,S)	Altdorf	3 July 1649
f.54	George Matthias König (1616-1699) Historian, professor at Altdorf (J)	Altdorf	3 July 1649
f.40	Johann Fabricius (1618-1676) Theologian, professor at Altdorf (J)	Altdorf	3 July 1649
f.99	Anton Mühlholzerus Student at Altdorf (1647), from Kirchenreinbach (S)	Altdorf	4 July 1649
f.56	Sebald Schnell (1621-1651) Philologist (J)	Altdorf	4 July 1649
f.53	Johann Paul Felwinger (1616-1681) Philosopher, professor at Altdorf (J)	Altdorf	5 July 1649
f.52	Theodor Hackspan (1607-1659) Theologian, Hebraist, professor at Altdorf (J)	Altdorf	July 1649
f.94	Johann Leonard Schwäger (1628-1708) Professor at Altdorf (S)	Nuremberg	10 July 1649
f.22	Johann Kobius (1590-1661) Philosopher and lawyer, professor at Altdorf (J)	[Nuremberg]	12 July 1649

- f.12 Wilhelm Ludwell (1589-1663) Nuremberg 13 July 1649
Jurist, professor at Altdorf (J)
- f.96v Johann Martin Brendelius (? - 1653) Nuremberg 13 July 1649
Student at Altdorf (1641), 1651
magister, died shortly after his
study at Altdorf in Italy in 1653 (S,J)
- f.97 Johann Gräff (1629-1698) Nuremberg 13 July 1649
Diaconus of St. Sebald's,
Nuremberg (S)
- f.84 Max. Oelhafius von Schöllennbach [Nuremberg]29 Aug. 1649
(1598-1653) (S)
- f.20 Tobias Oelhafius von Schöllennbach Nuremberg 4 Sept.1649
(1601-1666)
Member of the council of Nuremberg,
diplomat (J)
- f.67 Joachim Nützel von Sündersbühl Nuremberg 6 Sept.1649
(? - 1671)
Student at Altdorf (1640), from a
Nuremberg patrician family (S)
- f.42v Johann George Volckamer (1616-1693) Nuremberg 7 Sept.1649
Physician (J)
- f.79 Jörg Wilhelm Bu...⁵⁸ Nuremberg 10 Sept.1649
- f.92 Sigismund Betulius (1626-1681) Nuremberg 22 Sept.1649
Poet, member of the Pegnitz Order
(Floridan), later called
Sigismund von Birken (J)
- f.35 Johann Michael Dilherr (1604-1669) Nuremberg 28 Sept.1649
Theologian, author of many
devotional works (J)
- f.50 Georg Philip Harsdörffer (1607-1658) Nuremberg 30 Sept.1649
Poet, member of the Pegnitz Order
(Strephon), member of the council
of Nuremberg (J)
- f.37 Johann Georg Fabricius (1593-1668) Nuremberg Sept.1649
Physician (J)

f.61	Martin Beer (1617-1692) Philosopher, theologian, Professor of History at Altdorf	(J)	Nuremberg	Sept. 1649
f.18	Georg Richter (1592-1651) Pro-Chancellor of Altdorf University	(J)	Nuremberg	4 Oct. 1649
f.34	Johann Georg Richter (1620-1683) Politician, lawyer	(J)	Nuremberg	6 Oct. 1649
f.35v	Michael Ludovici (1602-1680) Theologian	(J)	Nuremberg	6 Oct. 1649
f.80	Hansz Adam Hilling ⁵⁹		Nuremberg	6 Oct. 1649
f.45	Johann Kueffer ⁶⁰ Physician		Nuremberg	1649
f.74	Johann Henricus Hagelgans ⁶¹ (1606- ?)	(J)	Coburg	7 Oct. 1649
f.41	Justus Georg Schottelius (1612- 1676) Linguist, lawyer	(J)	Wolfenbüttel	13 Oct. 1649
f.101	Joachim Pipenburg Poet, member of the "fruchtbringende Gesellschaft"	(J)	Lüneburg	15 Oct. 1649
f.62	Johann Freher Student at Altdorf (1635), Leyden (1646)		Hamburg	18 Oct. 1649
f.36	Johann Balthasar Schuppe (1610-1661) Theologian	(J)	Hamburg	20 Oct. 1649
f.81	Stephan Pessler ⁶²		Hamburg	22 Oct. 1649
f.46	Jacob Grosse (1592-1652) Theologian	(J)	Hamburg	23 Oct. 1649
f.51	Eberhart Moller (1606-1657) ⁶³ Divine	(B)	Hamburg	[23]Oct. 1649
f.82	Michael Finckler ⁶⁴		Hamburg	24 Oct. 1649

f.57	Johannes Schild (1595-1667) Theologian, Professor of Classics and Theology at Bremen	Bremen (J)	25 Oct. 1649
f.73	Georg Andreas Richter (c.1614-?) Student at Leyden (1640,1642)	Amsterdam (AL)	10 Nov. 1649
f.65	Adolf Visscher (1605-1652) Lutheran minister	Amsterdam (NNBW)	13 Nov. 1649
f.83	Herman Cappelen ⁶⁵	Amsterdam	13 Nov. 1649
f.72	Ezechiel Spanheim (1629-1710) Diplomat, author	Leyden (J)	27 April 1649
f.38	Nicolaas Blanckaert (1624-1703) (Blancardus) Philosopher and physician, professor at Steinfurt, Middelburg and Franeker	Leyden (NNBW)	[April?]1650
f.66	Caspar Ledebuhr Hebrew scholar, came in 1647 to Holland	Leyden (J)	18 May 1650
f.30	Georgius Hornius (1620-1670) Historian, professor at Harderwijk	Harderwijk (NNBW)	1 June 1650
f.29	Menso Alting (1617-1678) From Heidelberg, professor at Deventer and Groningen	Deventer (NNBW)	1 June 1650
f.55	Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611-1671) From Hamburg, professor at Deventer and Groningen	Deventer (NNBW)	1[June] ⁶⁶ 1650
f.69	Anthonius Piscator Student at Franeker (1618), minister of the Dutch church at Istanbul	[Deventer] (vda)	2 June 1650
f.68	Gisbertus ab Isendoorn (1601-1657) Professor at Deventer and Harderwijk	Harderwijk (NNBW)	2 June 1650
f.63	Philip von Zesen (1629-1689) Poet and historian	(J)	14 July 1650

f.39	Guilielmus Henric Vorstius (? -1652) Theologian of German ancestry, died at Warmond	(J)	28 July 1650
f.95	Petrus Schönheintzius From Nuremberg, student at Altdorf (1642) and Leyden (1648)	Leyden (S)	2 Sept.1650
f.23	Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) Famous scholar, professor at Leyden	Leyden (NNBW)	Sept.1650
f.114	Georg Gentius (1618-1687) Orientalist and diplomat	Amsterdam (J)	10 Sept.1650
f.24	Theodor Graswinckel (1600-1666) Lawyer and poet	The Hague (NNBW)	7 Nov. 1650
f.25	Jacob Cats (1577-1660) Poet and diplomat	The Hague (NNBW)	7 Nov. 1650
f.76	Christopher Baret Student at Cambridge (Christ's College, 1646, BA in 1649/50), Leyden (1650)	Leyden (V, AL)	8 Dec. 1650
f.88	Samuel Hundius German poet	Leyden (J)	13 April 1651
f.111v	Jean Nicolas de Parival (1605-1669) Wine-merchant and teacher of French	Leyden (NNBW)	29 April 1651
f.59	Henricus Julius Bloeme (c.1625-?) From Germany, student at Leyden (1648)	Leyden (AL)	30 April 1651
f.98	Conrad Wasmer (c.1627-?) From Ditmar, student at Leyden (1649)	Leyden (AL)	2 May 1651
f.70	Christian Stenbuchius(1625-1665) Professor of Hebrew at Copenhagen	Leyden (J)	3 May 1651
f.14	Jacob Golius (1596-1667) Professor of Arabic and Mathematics at Leyden	Leyden (NNBW)	22 May 1651

f.78	Nicolaus Heinsius (1620-1681) Diplomat and philologist	Leyden (NNBW)	28 May 1651
f.16	Anthony Thys (Thysius) (c.1603-1665) Professor and librarian at Leyden	Leyden (NNBW)	May 1651
f.71	Nicolaus Goldman (1623-1665) Architect and teacher	Leyden (J)	3 June 1651
f.61v	Petrus Corderius (c.1627-?) Student at Leyden (1642,1645) "Otterburgo-Palatinus", minister of the Wallonian church at Leyden	Leyden (AL)	5 June 1651
f.13	Johannes Coccejus (1603-1669) Orientalist, professor at Bremen, Franeker and Leyden	Leyden (NNBW)	7 June 1651
f.28	Frans van Schooten (1615-1660) Mathematician	Leyden (NNBW)	8 June 1651
f.17	Allardus Uchtmannus (? -1680) Professor of Hebrew and Greek at Leyden	Leyden	13 June 1651
f.26	Menasseh Ben Israel (1604-1657) Rabbi, author, printer, diplomat	Amsterdam (NNBW)	14 June 1651
f.113	Henr. Brandes ⁶⁷	Leyden	18 June 1651
f.102	Georg Fredericus Smith (c.1627-?) From Lüneburg, student at Leyden (1650)	Leyden (AL)	18 June 1651
f.62v	Johann Andreas Bayer (? -1686) From Nuremberg, student at Altdorf (1642), local government official	Leyden (S)	19 June 1651
f.18v	Bernard Schotanus (1598-1652) Professor of Law at Franeker, Utrecht and Leyden	Leyden (NNBW)	20 June 1651
f.15	Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius (1612-1653) Historian, professor at Leyden	Leyden (NNBW)	1651
f.89	Tizidazicus Ludovicus Brandis ⁶⁸	Antwerp	26 June 1651

f.77	Thomas Smith (c.1622-1661) Librarian Christ's College, Cambridge	London (V)	30 July 1651
f.103	Francis Junius (1589-1677) Linguist	London (DNB)	31 July 1651
f.105	John Selden (1584-1654) Lawyer, member of parliament, orientalist	London (DNB)	9 Aug. 1651
f.60	Philip Freher (c.1610- ?) Student at Geneva (1627), Strassburg (1629), Leyden (1643), from Nuremberg	London (S, AL)	15 Aug. 1651
f.64	John Durie (1596-1680) Librarian, advocate of the unity of the Protestant churches	London (DNB)	18 Aug. 1651
f.106	Victorinus Bythner Lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford	Oxford (DNB)	23 Aug. 1651
f.107	Richard Watkins (c.1624-1708) Divine	Oxford (F)	23 Aug. 1651
f.75	John Rouse (1574-1652) Librarian of the Bodleian library	Oxford (DNB)	24 Aug. 1651
f.36v	Hermann Mylius (1600-1656) Envoy of the Count of Oldenburg	London (J)	4 Sept.1651
f.105v	John Greaves (c.1602-1652) Professor of Astronomy at Oxford	London (DNB)	6 Sept.1651
f.108	William Petty (1623-1687) Professor of Anatomy at Oxford and of Music at Gresham College, London, physician-general to the army in Ireland	London (DNB)	7 Sept.1651
f.42	Jeremy Collier (c.1620- ?) Linguist, teacher	London (V)	14 Sept.1651
f.87	Abraham Whelock (1593-1653) Librarian, Professor of Arabic and Reader in Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge	Cambridge (DNB)	26 Sept.1651

f.104v	John Sadler (1615-1674) Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, member of parliament for Cambridge	Cambridge	27 Sept.1651	(DNB)
f.91	Edward Dickenson (c.1625- ?) Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge	Cambridge	27 Sept.1651	(V)
f.90	Robert Austin (c.1630- ?) Fellow of King's College, Cambridge	Cambridge	27 Sept.1651	(V)
f.86	James Ussher (1581-1656) Archbishop of Armagh, scholar	London	19 Oct. 1651	(DNB)
f.85v	John Milton (1608-1674) Poet, secretary to the Council of State	London	19 Nov. 1651	(DNB)
f.111	Thorchillus Arngrimus (1629-1677) From Iceland, student at Leyden (1651) ⁶⁹	Leyden	27 March 1652	(AL)
f.109v	Jodocus Christoph Kress von Kressenstein Local government official, son of Jobst Christ. Kr. v. Kr.	Leyden	20 April 1652	(Z)
f.32	Andreas Egelstrom (1629- ?) From Sweden, student at Leyden (1649)	Leyden	17 May 1652	(AL)
f.47	Antonius Aemilius (1589-1660) Professor at Utrecht	Utrecht	24 May 1652	(NNBW)
f.49	Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676) Professor of Theology and Hebrew at Utrecht	Utrecht	27 May 1652	(NNBW)
f.9	Christian Matthias (1584-1655) Theologian	Utrecht	28 May 1652	(NNBW)
f.57v	L. de Londa (?) ⁷⁰	Leyden	6 June 1652	
f.65v	Rudolph Heggerus (? -1656) Minister of the Lutheran congregation at Dordrecht (1623), went to Leyden	Leyden	10 June 1652	(NNBW)

f.109	Ericus Martini(c.1630-?) From The Hague, student at Leyden (1650)	Leyden (AL)	17 June 1652
f.2	Johann Envaldi Brochman (1621-1664) Theologian, bishop of Aarhus	Leyden (J,Z)	17 June 1652
f.31	Lambertus Barlaeus (1592-1655) Professor of Greek at Leyden	Leyden (NNBW)	17 June 1652
f.21	Samuel Maresius (1599-1673) Theologian, professor at Groningen	Groningen (NNBW)	21 June 1652
f.27	Matthias Pasor (1599-1658) Orientalist, professor at Heidelberg, Oxford and Groningen	Groningen (NNBW)	21 June 1652
f.29v	Jacobus Alting (1618-1679) Orientalist, professor at Groningen	Groningen (NNBW)	21 June 1652
f.48	Martinus Schoock (1614-1669) Professor at Groningen	Groningen (NNBW)	21 June 1652
f.44	Jacob Balde S.J. (1603-1668) Poet	Nuremberg (J)	17 Nov. 1652
f.33	Paulus Terhaarius ⁷¹ From Amsterdam	Nuremberg	10 May 1653
f.19v	Nicolaus Rittershusius (1597-1670)	(J) Altdorf	3 April 1659
f.10v	Iosaphat of Monachika ⁷² From Greece, Peleponnesos	[Nuremberg]	10 Oct. 1665
f.90v	Alexander Cuninghame ⁷³ From Sterling, Scotland	Nuremberg	17 Aug. 1668
f.7, 7v,8	Christianus de Pomis (c.1646- ?) ⁷⁴ A converted Jew	[Nuremberg] (J)	[1668-69]
f.10	Petrus Vervosius (1602- ?) ⁷⁵ From Crete	[Nuremberg]	18 Sept. 1669
f.9v	Daniel de Kastranaios From Patmos	[Nuremberg]	25 March 1670

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|--------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| f.6v | Athanasius | [Nuremberg] | 1 Aug. 1673 |
| f.3v-4 | Athanasius
Archimandrite of the holy mountain | [Nuremberg] | 10 Aug. 1673 |
| f.6 | Georgius Philippus
A Greek from Constantinople | [Nuremberg] | 11 Aug. 1673 |

Andreas Arnold - Album Amicorum 1678-1689
Chronological list of entries

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|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------|--------------|
| f.59v | Daniel Wilhelm Moller (1642-1712)
Historian, professor at Altdorf | (J) | Altdorf | Dec. 1678 |
| f.59 | Moritz Hofmann (1621-1698)
Physician, professor at Altdorf | (J) | Altdorf | 30 Jan. 1679 |
| f.89 | Jakob Pancratiuss Bruno (1629-1709)
Physician, professor at Altdorf | (J) | Altdorf | 17 Feb. 1679 |
| f.78 | Georg Reichard Hammer (1635-1697)
Lawyer, professor at Altdorf | (J) | Altdorf | 17 Feb. 1679 |
| f.93 | Johann Moritz Hofmann (1653-1727)
Physician, professor at Altdorf | (J) | Altdorf | 20 Feb. 1679 |
| f.65 | H.M. Freiherr von Closter (c.1659- ?)
Student at Leyden (1677), student at
Altdorf (1678) | (S) | Altdorf | 20 Feb. 1679 |
| f.209 | Heinrich Günther Thulemarius
(? - 1711)
Lawyer, Professor of History at
Heidelberg | (J) | Altdorf | 20 Feb. 1679 |
| f.103v | Joachim von Sandrart auf Stockau
(1606-1688)
Painter and engraver | (J) | Nuremberg | 26 Feb. 1679 |
| f.297v | Johannes Meyer (1655-1712)
Painter and engraver | (BDP) | Nuremberg | 28 Feb. 1679 |
| f.251v | Georg Christoph Eimmart (1638-1705)
Astronomer | (J) | Nuremberg | 6 March 1679 |

f.323v	Susanna Maria von Sandrart (1658-1716) Engraver	Nuremberg	20 March 1679	(BDP)
f.269v	Johannes Andreas Graff (1637-1701) Painter and engraver	Nuremberg	3 April 1679	(ADB)
f.271	Maria Sybilla Graff (Merian) (1647-1717) Painter and engraver	Nuremberg	3 April 1679	(BDP)
f.47	Otto Gall Herr zu Stubenberg (c.1624-1688) Student at Altdorf (1641)	Nuremberg	15 April 1679	(S)
f.257	Jakob Marrell (1614-1681) Painter	Nuremberg	3 June 1679	(BDP)
f.125	Johann Paul Felwinger (1616-1681) Philosopher, professor at Altdorf	Altdorf	20 Aug. 1679	(J)
f.142	Magnus Daniel Omeis (1646-1708) Author of many books, professor at Altdorf	Altdorf	25 Sept. 1679	(J)
f.186	Georg Paul Rötenbeck (1648-1710) Philosopher, professor at Altdorf	Altdorf	7 Oct. 1679	(J)
f.126	Georg Matthias König (1616-1699) Philologist, professor at Altdorf	Altdorf	19 Dec. 1679	(J)
f.120	Johann Fabricius (1644-1729) Theologian, professor at Altdorf, abbot of Königsutter	Altdorf	20 Dec. 1679	(J)
f.156	Johann Saubert (1638-1688) Theologian and philologist, professor at Altdorf	Altdorf	20 Dec. 1679	(ADB)
f.225	Lukas Friedrich Reinhart (1623-1688) Theologian, professor at Altdorf	Altdorf	21 Dec. 1679	(J)
f.136	Johann Christoph Sturm (1635-1703) Mathematician, professor at Altdorf	Altdorf	21 Dec. 1679	(J)

f.105	Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633-1705) Historian and lawyer, professor at Altdorf	Altdorf	23 Dec. 1679
		(J)	
f.258	Georg Christian Korth ⁷⁶	Nuremberg	18 Feb. 1680
f.325	Johann Jakob von Sandrart (1655-1698) Engraver	Nuremberg	1 March 1680
		(BDP)	
f.121	Conrad Feuerlein (1629-1704) Theologian, pastor at St. Mary's Nuremberg	Nuremberg	2 March 1680
		(J)	
f.277	Gabriel Schütz (1633-1711) Musician	(MGG) Nuremberg	7 March 1680
f.109	Martin Beer (1617-1692) Philosopher and theologian, professor at Altdorf, pastor	Nuremberg	10 March 1680
		(J)	
f.71	Magnus Fetzer (1614-1692) Lawyer, local government official	Nuremberg	12 March 1680
		(W)	
f.288	Georg Kaspar Wecker (1632-1695) Organist	Nuremberg	18 March 1680
		(MGG)	
f.230	Jakob Wilhelm Imhof (1651-1728) Local government official	Nuremberg	19 March 1680
		(J)	
f.70	Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf (1634-1690) Local government official	Nuremberg	20 March 1680
		(W)	
f.72v	Karl Welser von Neuhoof (1663-1711) Local government official	Nuremberg	25 March 1680
		(J)	
f.173	Johannes Röder (1620-1681) Physician	Nuremberg	26 March 1680
		(W)	
f.246	Georg Arnold Burger (1649-1712) Mathematician, local government official	Nuremberg	28 March 1680
		(J)	
f.63	Georg Friedrich Behaim von Schwarzbach (1616-1681) Local government official	Nuremberg	29 March 1680
		(J)	

f.247	Andreas Ingolstetter (1633-1711) Merchant, correspondent of many scholars	Nuremberg 29 March 1680 (J)
f.75	Chr. Gottlieb Dilherr von Thummersberg (1625-1685) Diplomat	Nuremberg 30 March 1680 (W)
f.253v	Johann Leonhard Stöberlein (1635-1696) Pharmacist	Nuremberg 30 March 1680 (W)
f.245	Paul Weber (c.1625-1696) Divine	Nuremberg 31 March 1680 (J)
f.69	Wilhelm Imhof (1622-1690) Member of the board of governors of Altdorf University	Nuremberg March 1680 (S)
f.249	Johannes Graef (1629-1698) Divine	Nuremberg 1 April 1680 (W)
f.68v	Jobst Christoph Kress von Kressenstein (1623-1694) local government official	Nuremberg 2 April 1680 (W)
f.238	Jakob Willibald Haller (1654-1710) Lawyer, local government official	Nuremberg 4 April 1680 (S)
f.326v	Anna Regina Arnold (1667 - ?) Andreas Arnold's half-sister	Nuremberg 5 April 1680
f.164	Sigismund von Birken (1626-1681) Poet, member of the Pegnitz Order	Nuremberg 1680 (J)
f.67	Hiob Ludolf (or Leutholf) (1624-1704) Diplomat and orientalist	Frankfort April 1680 (J)
f.241v	Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) Lutheran theologian, pastor	Frankfort 12 April 1680 (J)
f.113	Sebastian Scheffer (1631-1686) Physician and philologist	Frankfort 15 April 1680 (J)
f.157	Johan Georg Graevius (1632-1703) Historian, professor at Utrecht	Utrecht 30 April 1680 (NNBW)

f.160	Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706) Theologian, professor at Utrecht	Utrecht (NNBW)	30 April	1680
f.162	Johannes Leusden (1624-1699) Hebraist, professor at Utrecht	Utrecht (NNBW)	1 May	1680
f.188	Nicolaus Heinsius (1620-1681) Diplomat and philologist	Vianen (NNBW)	1 May	1680
f.239	Johann Christoph Dietherr (1658-1709) Student at Altdorf (1679) and Leyden (1686)	Leyden (S)	5 July	1680
f.187v	Markus Meibom (? - 1711) Philologist, librarian in Copenhagen	Amsterdam (J)	29 July	1680
f.193	Herman Cappelen ⁷⁷	Amsterdam	30 July	1680
f.243	Paulus Wesling (1648-1732) Lutheran minister at Amsterdam	Amsterdam (NNBW)	31 July	1680
f.176	Henricus Vos (1642-1708) Lutheran minister at Amsterdam	Amsterdam (NNBW)		1680
f.178	Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) Poet, musician, statesman, scholar	The Hague (NNBW)	1 Nov.	1680
f.250	Demetrios (Amarillios) of Chios ⁷⁸	Leyden	22 Nov.	1680
f.262	Gustav Peringer (1651-1710) Orientalist, professor at Upsala, librarian	Leyden (S)	1 April	1681
f.137	Burchard de Volder (1643-1709) Mathematician, professor at Leyden	Leyden (AL)	15 April	1681
f.276	Friedrich Deutsch (1657-1709) Theologian, professor at Königsberg	Leyden (J)	1 May	1681
f.181	Johannes Spitsius (? -1708) Lutheran minister at The Hague	The Hague (NNBW)	4 May	1681
f.106	Peter Pels ⁷⁹	The Hague	6 May	1681

f.180	Johannes Schelhammer (1615-1699) Lutheran minister at The Hague	The Hague (NNBW)	May 1681
f.127	Paul Hermann (1646-1695) Botanist	Leyden (J)	7 May 1681
f.179	Stephan Le Moyne (1624-1689) Theologian, professor at Leyden	Leyden (NNBW)	7 May 1681
f.194	Daniel van Gaesbeeck ⁸⁰	Leyden	8 May 1681
f.141	Jacob Gronovius (1645-1716) Philologist, professor at Leyden	[Leyden] (NNBW)	10 May 1681
f.189	Theodor Ryckius (1640-1690) Professor of history and eloquentia at Leyden	Leyden (AL)	10 May 1681
f.55	Friedrich Spanheim (1632-1701) Theologian, professor at Leyden, librarian	Leyden (NNBW)	13 May 1681
f.321	N[icolaus] Rubenius (c.1657- ?) From Sweden, student at Leyden (1687)	Leyden (AL)	13 May 1681
f.278	Christoph Leonhard Fürer von Haimendorf (1659-1726) Student at Altdorf, Jena, Leipzig and Leyden	Leyden (S)	13 May 1681
f.276v	Wolfgang Jakob Nuzel von Sonderspul (c.1660-1725) local government official, student at Leyden (1681)	Leyden (S)	13 May 1681
f.225	Augustinus Wisaeus (1614-1701) Lutheran minister at Rotterdam	Rotterdam (NNBW)	16 May 1681
f.285	Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655-1712) ⁸¹ Secretary to George of Denmark, nephew of Hiob Ludolf	London	12 June 1681
f.38	Edward Bernard (1638-1696) Astronomer and orientalist, professor at Oxford	Oxford (DNB)	1 July 1681

f.36	John Wallis (1616-1703) Mathematician, professor at Oxford (DNB)	Oxford	12 July 1681
f.327	Petrus Zitschler (1652-1697) Lutheran divine, from Copenhagen (J)	Oxford	12 July 1681
f.37	Edward Pococke (1604-1691) Orientalist, professor at Oxford (DNB)	Oxford	14 July 1681
f.39	Isaac Abendana ⁸² Rabbi, author, published in England (J)	Oxford	18 July 1681
f.40	Moses Cartierus Rothomagensis ⁸³	Oxford	18 July 1681
f.15	Thomas Hyde (1636-1703) Orientalist, Bodley's librarian, professor at Oxford (DNB)	Oxford	19 July 1681
f.50	Joshua Barnes (1654-1712) Greek scholar and antiquary, professor of Greek (1695) (DNB)	Cambridge	23 Sept.1681
f.183	Henry More (1614-1687) Divine, Cambridge Platonist (DNB)	Cambridge	28 Sept.1681
f.166	Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688) Divine, Cambridge Platonist (DNB)	Cambridge	
f.306	Richard Duke (1658-1711) Poet and divine (DNB)	Cambridge	
f.184	Anthony Horneck (1641-1697) Divine, of German origin (DNB)	London	18 Oct. 1681
f.82	Isaac Newton (1642-1727) Natural philosopher (DNB)	Cambridge	8 Nov. 1681
f.185	William Crabb (c.1652-1747) Fellow of Exeter College, divine (F)	[Oxford]	9 Jan. 1681
f.306v	Simon Johann Arnoldi ⁸⁴ a Pole	Oxford	11 Jan. 1682
f.311	Daniel Jablonski (1660-1741) Divine, from Danzig, ecuminist (J)	Oxford	11 Jan. 1682

f.aIV ⁸⁵	Johannes Oxoniensis (= John Fell) (1625-1686) Dean of Christ Church and bishop of Oxford	Oxford (DNB)	13 Jan. 1682
f.41	Thomas Smith (1638-1710) Nonjuring divine and scholar, librarian of the Cottonian library	Oxford (DNB)	14 Jan. 1682
f.49	Dethlev Cluverus (? -1708) Mathematician, from Schleswig	London (J)	1 Oct. 1682
f.128	Theodore Haak (1605-1690) Translator, Fellow of the Royal Society	London (DNB)	2 Oct. 1682
f.244	M. Gerhard Martens ⁸⁶ Divine	London	11 Oct. 1682
f.11	Mordaunt Webster ⁸⁷	London	15 Oct. 1682
f.12	Martha Webster ⁸⁸	London	21 Oct. 1682
f.36v	William Seaman (1606-1680[?]) ⁸⁹ Orientalist	 (DNB)	
f.1	Petrus Eliensis (=Peter Gunning) (1614-1684) Bishop of Ely	 (DNB)	
f.205	Andreas Morellius (1646-1703) Antiquary	Paris (J)	16 May 1683
f.236	[Christoph] Fürer von Haimendorf ⁹⁰ (1663-1732) President of the Pegnitz Order, local government official (W)	Paris	31 Aug. 1683
f.236v	Georg Christoph Poemer (1658-1733) Local government official	Paris (S)	31 Aug. 1683
f.140v	Franz Ertinger (1640-1700) Engraver	Paris (BDP)	4 Oct. 1683
f.216	St. George Ashe (1658?-1718) Irish bishop, diplomat, Fellow of the Royal Society	[Nuremberg?] (DNB)	6 Nov. 1689

f.215v Samuel Edwin (1671?- ?)
Son of Humphrey Edwin?

[Nuremberg?] 6 Nov. 1689
(DNB)

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 Röder, J. (f.173)
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CHRISTOPH ARNOLD IN ENGLAND

From 10 July to some time in December 1651 Christoph Arnold visited England. It was not only a decisive period in Arnold's life, it was also a decisive period in English history. King Charles I had been executed in January 1649, the monarchy and the House of Lords had been abolished, and the House of Commons was, at least in theory, the supreme authority in the land, though its constitutional position in relation to Cromwell and the Army was still subject of debate and conflict. In August 1651 Charles II, with a Royalist army from Scotland, invaded England, and on 3 September was finally defeated by Cromwell at Worcester. The new Commonwealth seemed to be irrevocably established.

On 7 August Arnold wrote to his friend and mentor Georg Richter in order to give an account of his first few weeks in England.¹ Apart from a mention of the trial of two Royalists, Love and Gibbons (who were subsequently executed on 22 August), Arnold's primary concern is his contacts with the learned world:

Having spent some time in London, I went first to the University of Oxford and then to the University of Cambridge and I made the acquaintance, in person or by letter, of the most famous men.

Of the two universities Cambridge receives most of Arnold's attention and he gives many details in his letter. Of crucial importance seems to have been his friendship with Abraham Whelock, of which he is very proud. Whelock (1593-1653) was one of the men who introduced the study of the oriental languages at Cambridge and he also devoted a great deal of energy to the study of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge. He became the first Professor of Arabic and was chosen by Sir Henry Spelman as Reader in Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge. As early as 1619 he had obtained besides these functions the post of librarian of the University Library. He was to retain this post till his death in 1653 and fulfilled it with zeal and ability. It is not unlikely that Arnold got in touch with Whelock on the advice of Christopher Baret, a Cambridge graduate whom Arnold had met at Leyden.² Baret was acquainted with Whelock and it may well have been that the former advised Arnold to contact Whelock in connection with Arnold's queries on Flavius Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*.³ Whelock's written reply, dated 12 August 1651, was printed in *Testimonium Flavianum* (1661), a series of commentaries on Josephus's book, collected by Arnold.⁴ Arnold's acquaintance with Whelock proved to be a good opening. Whelock gave him permission to work in the library and showed him many precious books and manuscripts. Arnold mentions Chinese books, the *Sophme Torah* of Maimonides, the Bar Bahlul manuscript (a Syriac-

Arabic lexicon) and an autograph Arabic lexicon by Bedwell (c.1561-1632).⁵ These items were obviously the showpieces of the library and the books Whelock was most proud of.

Another important thing Whelock did for Arnold was to introduce him to the college libraries of Peterhouse, Queen's College and St. John's College. It is not surprising that Arnold wanted to do something in return and he presented his recently printed pamphlet *Templum Pacis Germanicae* (Leyden, 1651) to the library.⁶ He had had it printed at his own expense⁷ and he seems to have been very proud of this short pamphlet (only fourteen pages of very large type). The text of Arnold's presentation does not reveal very much and is a rather pompous glorification of the new peace in Germany after thirty years of war and of the role of his native town Nuremberg in the peace-negotiations. Arnold signs himself "Devoter Vester Amicus" and this suggests that it was more a personal present for his friend Whelock than an official donation to the library.

It was perhaps during this period that Arnold began to develop an interest in Anglo-Saxon matters. In his later work and letters he displays a remarkable knowledge of the Old English period and language and his library contained a fair number of works related to the subject. It is not unlikely that Whelock stimulated Arnold's philological studies in this direction. Whelock's entry in Arnold's album is perhaps a reflection of their common interests. Besides texts in Hebrew, Arabic and the obligatory Latin, there is an Old English text, a remarkable feature for an album:

Witodlice we folgiap cristes fotswapum
gif we his gebisnungum mid godum
weorcum efenlaeceað

This fragment from the Saxon Homilies⁸ is followed by the Latin translation from which one might conclude that Whelock was not quite convinced that Arnold could understand the Old English text. Whelock inscribed his text in Arnold's album on 26 September. The next day the album was signed by three more Cambridge men, all of them from different colleges. They were Edward Dickenson, fellow of Jesus College, Robert Austin, fellow of King's and John Sadler. Sadler was Master of Magdalene College and he became Member of Parliament for Cambridge in 1653. He showed interest in the Jewish cause and it was through him that the Jews obtained the privilege of building a synagogue in London in 1655. Arnold, too, was interested in the Jews and one of his acquaintances and correspondents was Menasseh Ben Israel, a prominent Amsterdam Jew who negotiated with Cromwell in the 1650s. Perhaps there is a link between Arnold's acquaintance with Menasseh Ben Israel and his visit to John Sadler in Cambridge, but it seems more likely that Sadler's contacts with Durie and Hartlib (two of Arnold's intimate acquaintances in London who will be dealt with later in this chapter) and his involvement in their "Agency for Universal learning", one of the aims of which was

a project to entertain foreign visitors, made Arnold call upon him.

Arnold's visit to Oxford is recorded in his album through the signatures of three men: Victorinus Bythner, of Polish origin and at that moment Reader in Hebrew at Oxford, Richard Watkins (c.1624-1708), a clergyman and former student of Christ Church, and John Rouse (1574-1652), librarian of the Bodleian Library and described by Arnold as "a very obliging and learned man".⁹ John Selden had given Arnold a letter of introduction to Rouse.¹⁰ Bythner and Watkins signed the album on Saturday, 23 August, and Rouse on Sunday, 24 August. It looks as if Christoph Arnold left soon afterwards. Considering his interests and the way he spent his time in Cambridge it might seem strange that he did not visit and study in the Bodleian Library, something which he certainly would have mentioned in his letters. Nor is his name to be found in the registers of foreign visitors to the Bodleian.¹¹ The reason for this apparently short and hasty visit might have been the threatening situation in Oxford which was being fortified by the Parliamentary troops in anticipation of the advance of the Royalist army under Charles II. Christoph Arnold arrived in a town alarmed by the possibility of a siege.¹² The battle of Worcester, in which Charles was finally beaten, did not take place before 3 September, so the threat of an invasion was still very real at the time of Arnold's visit to Oxford. It seems likely that he soon left Oxford for a safer London.

It was in London that Arnold stayed most of the time. His lodgings were near Charing Cross. He gives as his address in a letter to Meric Casaubon of 14 September¹³ "At Charing Cross right over the Englecourt [i.e. Angel Court] by Mr. Hartlib", a very central place. Many of the people he met had their domiciles in this part of London and, as we shall see, were well acquainted with one another. Once Arnold had managed to get introduced to one of them, it cannot have been too difficult to make the acquaintance of the others.

It seems highly probable that Arnold lodged with Samuel Hartlib and that Arnold's introduction to literary and scientific circles in London was through Hartlib and his friend John Durie. Of Polish origin, Samuel Hartlib had come to England in 1628. Officially described as a "merchant", he devoted most of his time and money to the propagation of scientific, educational and cultural projects. From 1646 onwards he was a pensioner of the Puritan Parliament. One of the projects dear to Durie and himself was the establishment of contacts with the scientific and literary developments on the continent of Europe, and to this end he advocated a conscious policy of hospitality to distinguished foreign visitors, with a view to establishing a permanent "correspondence" with them.¹⁴ Christoph Arnold was obviously a very suitable candidate for the Hartlib-Durie project: he was young and enthusiastic, earnest and scholarly, and a well-connected German liberal Protestant. Arnold would have been well known to Durie through their mutual friend, Georg Richter.

Connected with the Hartlib-Durie circle was Arnold's fellow-countryman Hermann Mylius (1600-1656), special envoy of Count Günther von Oldenburg at London. Mylius came to England in August 1651 and his task was to get a "Salva-Guardia" or a safe conduct from the English Parliament for the territories and trade of Oldenburg in case of an Anglo-Dutch war, which threatened as a consequence of the Navigation Act. Arnold certainly gives a prominent place to Mylius among his acquaintances:

For the rest I have given myself so much to the society of Herman Mylius, recently come as an envoy from the illustrious Count of Oldenburg to the English Republic, that I often stay with him, his lodgings being close to mine. The most eminent people are much with him such as the celebrated French preacher Jean d'Espagne, Durie, the Dutch secretary [Johan Oste] and others.¹⁵

Mylius's lodgings were an important meeting-place and it was most probably there that Arnold was introduced to other members of the Hartlib-Durie circle, including Jean d'Espagne, William Petty, the Dutch secretary Johan Oste¹⁶ and John Milton.

John Durie (1596-1680) receives much of Arnold's attention and he certainly was a remarkable figure. Durie devoted the greater part of his life and most of his energy to ambitious plans for the unification of the Protestant Churches. From 1630 onwards he travelled from one Protestant country to another, visiting church assemblies and synods, trying to win people for his ideas. In 1633 he had attended the great Frankfort assembly¹⁷ where he met Georg Richter, Christoph Arnold's correspondent. Richter wrote to Arnold about Durie in a letter of 22 August:¹⁸

I am glad that you have gained the friendship of the incomparable Durie, and I heartily congratulate you upon it. I met him for the first time at Frankfort, eighteen years ago, when I was there as a member of the Heilbrun delegation and he accompanied the envoy of the king of Great Britain, and we saw a great deal of each other and have also exchanged some friendly letters. Therefore I urge you to send him my kindest regards. You have no doubt seen his theological works, excellent for their praise of piety, peace and prudence and you will love his pious and sincere endeavours to establish concord in religious controversies, whatever judgement some evil-doers and madmen (such as that spineless wrangler)¹⁹ may give about him. Patience is the best way of dealing with these people.

Considering the warm manner in which Richter speaks about Durie it could easily be that Arnold had sought Durie's acquaintance on the

advice of Richter. When Arnold met Durie, the latter had made England his permanent place of residence. He had settled down in England in 1645 having travelled about for a very long period. In 1650 he had become library-keeper of St. James' Library under Bulstrode Whitelocke and it was in this capacity that Arnold met him:

John Durie has become my closest companion near Westminster, a man, as you know, who is affability itself, and who is now appointed keeper of what was formerly the King's Library in St. James' Palace; where, in a chapel, built originally as they say, for the expected Spanish bride of Charles, new book cases are now being set up. I had some hope of being able to examine the King's manuscripts; but Durie has with all seriousness refused to receive the indiscriminate masses of books that they try to thrust upon him; they say too that the most precious manuscripts of that library were offered in gift to the Dutch ambassador²⁰ immediately after the King's death and very negligently kept.²¹

From Arnold's account we get the impression that Durie took his job seriously. He was not content with the performance of routine duties and had attempted to work out practical suggestions to provide a more efficient basis for library work. The result was a study *The Reformed Librarian-keeper* (London, 1650). Arnold mentions it in his letter and acquired it for his own library. The book also contains a detailed description of the library of Herzog August in Wolfenbüttel which Durie considered one of the chief libraries of Germany.

John Durie belongs to the group of librarians Arnold called upon in England. The librarians of Oxford and Cambridge belong of course to this group but also men possessing large private libraries (or in charge of them) like John Selden and Francis Junius. Considering Arnold's interests this was of course to be expected. Books and writers were to be his chief interest and occupation throughout his life and he himself managed to build up a library of about 5200 volumes.

Among the group meeting in Mylius's lodgings were "the Dutch secretary" and Jean d'Espagne. The Dutch Ambassador, Gerard Schaep, had left England quite suddenly on 2 September, due to the rising tension between Holland and England, leaving behind his son and his secretary, Johan Oste, "the Dutch secretary". Mylius had sought their acquaintance to keep in touch with the Dutch views on the situation and he saw Oste and Schaep's son regularly during the autumn months of 1651.²² The other person mentioned is Jean d'Espagne (1591-1659), "the celebrated French preacher"²³ as Arnold calls him. D'Espagne, of French origin, came to Holland and was pastor at The Hague till 1629 when he left for England. He became pastor of a French congregation in London and got involved in a number of religious controversies

owing to his independent line. He wrote a great many pamphlets some of which Arnold acquired for his library.

Connected with the group round Durie and Hartlib is William Petty (1623-1687), whose signature is to be found in Arnold's album. It is dated 7 September. Petty was acquainted with Hartlib and although Arnold does not state this explicitly, it may well be that he came in contact with Petty through Hartlib. Arnold was quite charmed by Petty:

Moreover, Mr. William Petty, Professor of Medicine at Gresham College, London, has entertained me with several useful and yet charming dialogues on the wonders of nature and mechanical appliances.²⁴

At the time when they met, Petty was Professor of Anatomy at Oxford and Professor of Music at Gresham College, so Arnold is mixing up Petty's professorships. At that moment Petty was only twenty-eight and had already started on a brilliant career as a practical scientist and political economist. In 1648 he had published a short pamphlet *The Advice of W.P. [i.e. William Petty] to Mr Samuel Hartlib for the advancement of some particular parts of learning*, in which he worked out the idea of a scientific society. He was to become one of the founders of the Royal Society.

In discussing the group round Durie, Mylius and Hartlib we have left the chronological order of the entries and have not mentioned a number of earlier English autographs in Arnold's album. The first one is Thomas Smith's (c.1622-1661), London, 30 July 1651. It is not clear what he was doing in London at that time but he was librarian of Christ's College, Cambridge,²⁵ and this makes him fairly representative of the kind of people we find in Arnold's album. There are many librarians and Cambridge men among them. The next day, 31 July, it is Francis Junius who obliges Arnold by completing an entry. Junius (1589-1677), philologist and antiquary, is one of the more prominent men among Arnold's English acquaintances. Born in Heidelberg of French Protestant origin and educated at Leyden where he studied letters and philology under Gerhard John Vossius, he came to England in 1621 and entered the service of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. He became the Earl's librarian, a position which he held for about thirty years, and tutor to his son. In 1651 he returned to Holland, but Arnold's album shows that this must have been after July. Junius devoted himself to the study of Anglo-Saxon (as is also clear from his entry which contains a modified quotation in Old English from St. Paul's second letter to the Corinthians)²⁶ and many other Germanic languages and became a great comparative linguist. Philology was also one of Arnold's great interests, as is for instance shown by his last letter to Richter of December 1651,²⁷ so Junius's work must have had a great appeal for Arnold. That the meeting with Junius was not just a short, formal one is shown by the detailed lists and schemes which Arnold gives of the works that

Francis Junius was editing. Junius was a brother-in-law of Gerhard John Vossius, and together with Vossius's son Isaac he was at that moment engaged in preparing new editions of Gerhard John Vossius's many works. Christoph Arnold gives a list of these works and he even adds a complete scheme of *De Theologia Gentili*, summarizing the contents of the several chapters.²⁸

Someone who also gets a fair deal of attention in Arnold's letter of 7 August is John Selden (1584-1654) and it is not unlikely that he too had a key-position in introducing Arnold to a number of people:

In London I am on familiar terms with the great Selden, who, admitting me readily into his own well-furnished library, takes me also sometimes to certain gardens on the Thames, where there are rare Greek and Roman inscriptions, stones and marbles, the reading of which is actually like viewing Greece and Italy at the same time within the bounds of Great Britain. From the Cottonian Library of which he is in charge, he has several times let me have a sight of important Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and he spontaneously offered me letters of introduction to the Oxford librarian John Rouse, a very obliging and learned man.²⁹

The "certain gardens on the Thames" are the gardens of Arundel House, situated in Arundel Street, off The Strand, and not far from Arnold's lodgings at Charing Cross. Many of the treasures, especially Greek and Roman marbles, collected by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, were displayed in these gardens. Selden was very familiar with the Earl's collection and already in 1628 he had given a description of it in his *Marmora Arundelliana*. It was not Selden's only work. He was a prolific writer and Arnold does not exaggerate when he calls him "the great Selden". Selden started his career as a lawyer, early in the seventeenth century, but very soon displayed many other interests. His circle included Ben Jonson (for whose *Volpone* he wrote a preface), William Camden, Sir William Dugdale and Sir Robert Bruce Cotton. The latter's friendship was to be of especially great value to Selden. Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) and Selden exchanged manuscripts with one another and, as long as Cotton had control over it, he allowed Selden free access to his library. In 1629 the Cottonian Library, which was situated at Westminster between the two Houses of Parliament, was closed to public access by order of the King, and Sir Robert Cotton was only allowed to consult it under supervision of the Clerk of the Privy Council. Sir Robert Cotton died in 1631. In 1640 the Privy Council entrusted the keys to John Selden who, with the assistance of Sir William Dugdale, the antiquary, had set about sorting and binding the manuscripts and

completed the catalogue. Arnold says in his letter that Selden was "in charge" of the library because the legal owner, Sir Thomas Cotton (1594-1662), Sir Robert's son and heir, had only restricted access at that time.³⁰ Arnold also made use of the library. In his letter to Richter of December 1651³¹ he refers to manuscripts consulted in the libraries of Cotton and Selden.

Selden was a great scholar but also a man active in public life. He had been actively engaged in political affairs from very early on in his career and certainly did not confine his learning to his study. He wrote many juridical books among which an answer to Hugo Grotius's *Mare Liberum*, appropriately called *Mare Clausum*, in which he defended the English claims to sovereignty over the seas surrounding Britain. The latter book was written at the special request of James I who also sent for Selden on several other occasions. In 1623 Selden became a Member of Parliament and was very active during the twenties, not always to the satisfaction of the authorities, and he even spent a short term in prison. During the Civil War he chose the Parliamentary side, although not without reservations. Towards its end he took no further part in public affairs. During the trial and execution of the King and the rise of Cromwell, Selden abstained from any expression of his views. His motto in those days was "the wisest way for men in these times is to say nothing". Arnold refers to Selden's role and attitude in his letter, remarking:

The great Selden gave up (or was forced to give up) all his parliamentary duties, which had already been reduced considerably anyway. Meanwhile he still sees to it that the new Acts [of Parliament] are affixed to the proper walls and doors. He has illustrated my album with the following verse:

Lupus in fabula:
...fruere, quae laudas, canis:
Regnare nolo, liber ut non sim mihi
[The wolf in the fable:
...enjoy what you praise, o dog;
I do not want to rule because [then]
I am not free anymore.]³²

This is in fact the only time that Arnold's album is explicitly mentioned in his letters. Both Arnold's text and Selden's verse suggest that Selden thought it wiser to abstain from official duties and statements about public affairs. Selden was not the only one who thought so: Arnold says that nearly the whole of the nobility are living in the country pretending to be ignorant of the things that are going on, in an attempt to avoid suspicion and the need to commit themselves.

As has been said before, Selden, like Durie and Mylius, could

have been a key-figure for Arnold in getting introduced to other people. James Ussher (1581-1656), for example, another great name in Arnold's album, Archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland although resident in England, and a great scholar, was an old acquaintance of Selden's. Selden and Ussher had met as early as 1609 and remained good friends throughout their lives. It is said that Ussher gave Selden the absolution on his deathbed and he preached the funeral sermon for Selden. Selden thought a great deal of Ussher's scholarly achievement. He calls him "learned to a miracle" and helped him several times when Ussher got into trouble because of his Royalist sympathies. Arnold thought him a very amiable man and showed himself impressed by his learning, as is also obvious from the long list he gives of the works of Ussher and his comments on these works. He acquired quite a few of Ussher's books for his library.³³ At the time of Arnold's visit Ussher lived in London at Lincoln's Inn or at the Countess of Peterborough's house at Charing Cross³⁴ and since Arnold also stayed at Charing Cross this could have contributed to a more frequent contact between the two men.

Belonging to the group round Selden and Ussher is John Greaves (1602-1652), mathematician and astronomer. He was subsequently Professor of Geometry at Gresham College and Professor of Astronomy at Oxford and he was also a good orientalist. He was a good friend of Golius, the Professor of Arabic at Leyden (who is also in Arnold's album), and a favourite of Archbishop Laud for whom he acquired oriental manuscripts on one of his trips abroad. Having Royalist sympathies he lost his professorship at Oxford in 1648 and retired to London where he was often visited by his friend Selden, who helped him to recover part of his confiscated books, and by Archbishop Ussher. Christoph Arnold, ignoring Greaves's ejection from his professorship, says of him:

John Greaves, the Oxford Professor of Astronomy,
and highly accomplished in the Arabic and
Persian tongues, is also very kind and attentive
to me.³⁵

Greaves's signature was acquired on 6 September. There are three books by him in the library of the Arnolds,³⁶ probably purchased or received as presents during these months. Another person Arnold got in touch with at the instigation of Selden is Meric Casaubon. The latter, son of the famous scholar Isaac Casaubon, had been forced by the new rulers to retire and he lived outside London "in a pleasant suburban cottage".³⁷ The Leyden printer Francis Hackius had asked Arnold to see if there were any interesting commentaries and annotations on Polybius³⁸ available in England. Hackius had plans to publish a new edition of the works of Polybius. Junius and Selden called Arnold's attention to Meric Casaubon as someone who knew more about it and Selden also informed him that the splendid notes of Isaac Casaubon were still in the possession of the latter's son.

This information made Arnold write to Meric Casaubon on 14 September,³⁹ asking him for permission to use his father's notes for the new edition.

Selden's role in making new contacts for Arnold is less certain in the case of the three English entries which still ought to be discussed: Jeremy Collier (London, 14 September), Philip Freher (London, 15 August) and John Milton (London, 19 November). The only interesting thing about Jeremy Collier, a former fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, is that he was the father of Jeremy Collier, the author of the famous pamphlet against the Restoration theatre entitled *Short View of the Immorality and Prophaneness of the English Stage* (1698).

Philip Freher is rather a problem. Freher calls himself Norimbergensis and it is true that Freher is the name of an old Nuremberg family. Yet there is no Philip Freher in the relevant biographical dictionaries. Perhaps he could be identified with the Philip Freher who in 1646 published a short work called *A Treatise touching the Peace of the Church or an Apostolic Rule how to judge aright in Differences which concern religion*. It is addressed to the Westminster Assembly, a meeting of divines called together by Parliament for consultation in matters of religion. The author discusses the merits and defects of the Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran Churches and he clearly feels himself Anglican and English. If it is our man he must have been in England for a considerable time. There are, however, also arguments that would seem to point in another direction. On 5 June 1651, shortly before Arnold's departure for England, Peter Corderius of Leyden made his entry in Arnold's album and he refers in connection with Arnold's approaching trip to their common friend Freher. Perhaps it is the Philip Freher who matriculated to Leyden University in 1643. In that case it could hardly be the Philip Freher of the *Treatise*. Probably Philip Freher is one of the lesser known members of the Nuremberg family who had recently come to England and was called upon by Christoph Arnold. Freher's entry is dated 15 August and this makes it only the fourth English entry.

John Milton is undoubtedly the most famous acquaintance Arnold made during his five months in England. In Arnold's eyes Milton's autograph must have been a valuable acquisition. In Holland, a couple of months before he went to England, he had written about Milton to Richter and had noticed one of Milton's publications:

Receive this news about matters concerning learning: John Milton, an Englishman, has published under his own name a defence (as they call it) of the English people against Salmasius's *Royal Defence*.⁴⁰

Arnold here refers to Salmasius's *Defensio Regia Pro Carolo I*. Salmasius, or Claude de Saumaise (1588-1653), was a scholar of French origin who came to Leyden in 1632 and was invited to Sweden

by Queen Christina in 1649. His "Royal Defence", in which he defended Charles I against the Puritans, was written in November 1649 and was read everywhere. The new English leaders considered it to be a serious threat to their position. For this reason they had asked John Milton, who had become Latin Secretary to the Council of State, to launch the counter-attack. The result was *Joannis Miltoni Angli Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudio Salmasii Defensionem Regiam*, published in February 1651. Very soon a large number of copies reached the Continent and many more editions came out. As early as April 1651 there were six different editions in circulation, the London original and five editions printed in Holland. By this time there was also a Dutch translation.⁴¹ The controversy between Milton and Salmasius drew a great deal of attention from scholars all over Europe and it made Milton's name well known everywhere for the first time. Isaac Vossius wrote on 12 April 1651 from Stockholm to Nicolaus Heinsius in Leyden about the work⁴² and of course there is Arnold's letter of 4 April.

Milton's answer proved to be effective and he was generally agreed to be the victor in the controversy. Even Queen Christina of Sweden, Salmasius's patroness, was impressed by Milton's work.⁴³ Milton became a favourite object of foreign guests. He himself said that nearly every foreigner then resident in London in some official function called on him to congratulate him or did so at a casual meeting.⁴⁴ Christoph Arnold, too, saw Milton primarily as the author of the *Defensio* and not as the theologian or the poet:

The strenuous Defender of the same [i.e. the new English Republic] enters readily into talk. His style is pure and his writing most terse. Of the old English theologians and their commentaries on the Books of the Holy Scriptures, the erudition of which I can attest, he seemed to me altogether to entertain a too harsh, if not unjust opinion.⁴⁵

It is not absolutely clear from this remark whether Arnold had actually met Milton at this stage though it would seem probable. He is rather vague and could have had this information from hearsay or out of Milton's works. Perhaps he saw Milton in larger company. Anyway, it took Arnold another three months before he eventually acquired Milton's signature on 19 November 1651.⁴⁶ It seems virtually certain that it was Hartlib and Durie who introduced their protégé Arnold to Milton. Hartlib was an old friend of Milton's and there is evidence that Durie saw a great deal of Milton in the autumn of 1651.⁴⁷ He acted among other things as an intermediary between Milton and Mylius and could have made it possible for Arnold to procure Milton's autograph. The actual text of the entry is the following:

'Εν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦμαι

Doctissimo Viro, meoque fausori humanissimo
D. Christophoro Arnoldo dedi hoc in memoriam
cum suae virtutis, tum mei erga se studii
Joannes Miltonius

[I am made perfect in weakness

To the most learned man and kind favourer,
Mr. Christoph Arnold, I have given this, in
memory not only of his worth, but also of my
friendship for him

John Milton]⁴⁸

The entry itself was not written by Milton but by an amanuensis which may have been due to Milton's approaching blindness or to lack of time and only the signature is in Milton's own handwriting.⁴⁹ Milton's is the last English entry in Arnold's album. Shortly afterwards Arnold must have left for Holland.

So far we have discussed Arnold's English period using his letter from London and his album. Let us now concentrate on the London letter itself which, besides descriptions of the people Arnold met, also contains quite a lot of information about the religious situation, conditions at the universities, Acts of Parliament and above all, scholarly publications.

The religious situation certainly was remarkable, particularly for a foreigner like Christoph Arnold who was so interested in religious affairs. After the defeat of the Royalists in the Civil War, who for the greater part held orthodox Anglican views, the attitude of Parliament had gradually developed towards a strict Puritanism after the Scottish model. There were no longer any bishops in this Presbyterian version of Protestantism. The Church was to be governed by elders who exercised a strong influence over the lives of the people, not only in religious matters but also in every-day life. In London the election of elders took place in 1646. The plans of Parliament were to establish Presbyterianism as the national religion. This attempt failed in the end mainly because of the attitude of the Army. The majority of the officers were Sectaries and since the Army rather than Parliament became the most powerful element in the new republic, sectarian influence dominated. From a tiny minority in the early 1640s the Sectaries had gained enough strength to obtain the control of the Army and to become the rulers of the Commonwealth. Yet they did not form one body. There existed a whole range of sects from moderate to extreme "left-wing". The great diversity of sects was also noticed by Christoph Arnold and he gives a few examples of their strange conduct:

On the Lord's day after the sermons, enthusiasts
and fanatics hold their own evening exercises of
worship. This week I heard four working-men

holding forth, one after the other as preachers extraordinary, in an obscure street near the Thames called St. Laurence Lane, or now commonly *Heresy Street*. They claim for themselves the exclusive name of *The Christians*. In the borough of Clerkenwell Green they have imprisoned the *Ranters*, whom I take to be essentially schismatics and violators of religion: they call a man not a man, but a fellow-creature, i.e. *creaturam sociam, einen Creatur-Gesellen*.⁵⁰

And Arnold continues by describing the conduct of a number of religious fanatics, flourishing in this period of religious unrest. Arnold's account remains superficial; he gives examples of odd behaviour but does not enter into doctrinal discussions. It is possible that Arnold obtained much of his information on the sectaries from Thomas Edwards's very hostile book *Gangraena* (1646) which he had already noticed in Holland and which he acquired for his library. The antagonism between the Presbyterians on the one hand and the Sectaries on the other, and the fact that the Independents who formed the main body of the Sectaries and were backed up by the Army, had become the major religious group in the Commonwealth, did not pass unnoticed by Arnold:

Of Church matters what shall I write? The Independents are now the masters in the Church and it is they who preach most before the magistrates and notables. They have their sermons in the upper church of St. Paul's and the Presbyterians theirs in the crypt.⁵¹

The Presbyterians, to whom generally speaking the merchant and moneyed classes belonged, the "establishment" on the Parliamentary side, did not look very favourably upon the Sectaries and their growing influence, but since the Army supported the Sectaries, there was little they could do about it. Arnold is not uncritical of the new situation and he quotes, evidently agreeing with the sentiment expressed, some satirical couplets criticizing the increase in clerical absenteeism and pluralism.

As far as the political situation is concerned Arnold is rather vague, perhaps because as he says "It is dangerous to write about the situation in the New Republic in these uncertain and violent times".⁵² There is nothing about Charles II's invasion but he does mention the conspiracy of the Royalists Love and Drake and the capital punishment awaiting them. Hugh Peters, one of the leaders of the Independents, was a well-known man and Arnold spends some time expatiating on his fame. The change that had taken place in England since the revolution is visible everywhere. Parliamentary signs and inscriptions replace the Royalist ones. The great change, Arnold says, is also reflected in new epitaphs like the one for Thomas May, author of the *History of Parliament*, in which the new

Commonwealth features prominently. That this epitaph was indeed a conspicuous example of the new situation was shown some years later at the Restoration, when this all too ostentatious memorial of the republic was again removed.⁵³ Arnold quotes the complete epitaph.⁵⁴

The position of Parliament is not discussed in the letter. Arnold confines himself to stating that it is a very modest Parliament that does not want to be addressed in a pompous way. He probably got this information from Hermann Mylius who records in his diary an interview he had with Oliver Fleming, Master of Ceremonies of Parliament. It was a kind of exploratory talk in which Mylius asked in what way he was to address Parliament. "Parlamento Rei-publicae Anglicanae", was Fleming's answer, "we grant other people their titulos pottentissimos, serenissimos etc. but we do not want these pompous titles for ourselves". That this is the serious policy of Parliament is proved, says Mylius, by its refusal to accept letters from the Spanish King, the States General of Holland, Portugal and Florence containing high-flown titles.⁵⁵ Arnold's only other communication about Parliament is a long list of acts bearing on religious subjects. Especially during the first half of 1650 many of these acts were passed to prove that the new Government, which by many was considered to be too tolerant in religious matters, was able to maintain Church discipline and was willing to take action against the more extreme sects.

Round about this time the milled edges of coins were introduced by a French mintmaster and Arnold (probably deriving his information from a pamphlet by Thomas Violetus)⁵⁶ is at pains to display his familiarity with the classical authors on the subject.

A considerable part of Arnold's letter deals with the effects the new situation has on the universities and here he is more outspoken in his opinions. Stained-glass windows were removed from Christ Church Chapel in Oxford by people "who anxiously defend freedom of conscience" on the pretext that they caused a scandal, and Arnold does not hide his antipathy here. He is less critical of the use of lead from the roofs of the Christ Church buildings for the production of bullets by the Parliamentary army and he goes a long way to show that this, according to a great many jurists and ancient authors, is permitted, referring also to several historical precedents.

A long quotation from what Arnold calls "a sermon to the clergy" by William Sancroft forms a very interesting part of the letter. Sancroft (1617-1693), who later became Archbishop of Canterbury and played a role in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, had become a fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1642. He held important posts in his college; he was bursar and Greek and Hebrew Reader. The Puritan victory, however, brought him into trouble with the authorities. In 1649 the Engagement, a promise of allegiance to the Commonwealth, was introduced by Parliament and in 1650 made obligatory for everyone. Sancroft did not want to subscribe and although he managed to retain his fellowship for some time - apparently the

matter was not pressed and he was a respected scholar with influential friends - he was eventually expelled in 1651. The circumstances of his ejection are not very clear. In George D'Oyly's biography of William Sancroft no details are given and the only guess made is that Sancroft was expelled in July 1651, about the time Arnold arrived in England. Arnold sees as the cause of Sancroft's ejection the sermon to the clergy from which he quotes and it is not surprising that the sermon achieved some notoriety. "Bats and nightowls", "disgusting birds of bad omen", "jealous Philistines", are some of the expressions used against the enemies of the universities. Sancroft does not mention names nor does he give any particulars but it seems obvious, also judging from the effect of the sermon, that the authorities of the Commonwealth were meant. Arnold's final remark about the situation at the universities is that many things have changed but that one thing is still the same: the authority of Aristotle. As far as Oxford and Cambridge were concerned scholasticism was not outworn yet.

Christoph Arnold devotes the final part of his letter to an extensive discussion of a number of famous English authors and their works. This in answer to an express request by Richter. The first one to receive special attention is John Selden. Having observed that Selden's position in Parliament is difficult, Arnold continues by saying that Selden's Latin works are rather rare. He gives a list of some twelve Latin works edited or written by Selden of which three are to be found in his own library. It is not unlikely that they were bought during this visit. Arnold's list does not confine itself to Latin works. He makes mention of *Titles of Honor* and *The Historie of Tithes*. The latter tract was controversial and Arnold gives the titles of two reactions, one by Richard Montague and one by Stephen Nettles. These four books are all listed in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*.

Having mentioned Milton's *Areopagitica*, he passes on to Sir Henry Spelman's works. Four of them are mentioned of which he acquired three: *Concilia Pambritannica* (LB 186), *De Sepultura* (LB 187), *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* (EB 262) and *Glossarium Latino Barbara*.

The next great man discussed is James Ussher, one of the people Arnold had met and a prolific writer. He gives ten Latin works written or edited by Ussher (of which five are to be found in his library) and three English ones: *An Answer to a Challenge* (EB 295), *A Discourse of the Religion* (EB 296) and *A Geographick and Historical Disquisition*. Arnold follows this in his letter with a miscellaneous section on various theological subjects: works by Jeremy Stephen, Meric Casaubon (LB 37), John Norton, Henry Hammond (LB 90) and a few others. Taking the attempts to unite the Protestant Churches for his theme Arnold lists books on this subject by Thomas Hayne (LB 93), Joseph Hall, John Davenant and John Durie (LB 61). By the latter are also *The Reformed School* (EB 89) and *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper* (EB 88).

Christoph Arnold concludes by saying that he hopes that he has put enough literary matters in his letter to satisfy Georg Richter and he expresses the wish that Richter may persuade his parents to let him spend the winter at Oxford. In August 1651 therefore Arnold still planned to remain in England during the winter of 1651-52. By 16 December, however, Christoph Arnold is back in Leyden as is clear from a letter to Richter.⁵⁷ The question is, of course, what made Arnold change his mind? It is not that his parents refused his request to stay on or that he had seen enough of England and the English. In his letter of 16 December the English hospitality is amply praised, the cost of living does not exceed his budget and even the English climate does not come out too badly: the English winter is called very mild. It was apparently the threat of an Anglo-Dutch war which made him return to Holland some time between 19 November and 16 December. On 9 October 1651 the Navigation Act had become law. This Act posed a severe threat to the Dutch carrying-trade on which the wealth of the United Provinces was largely based. Special Ambassadors, Jacob Cats, Paulus van de Perre and Gerard Schaep, were sent to England in December 1651 in a last attempt to settle the dispute, but Christoph Arnold did not wait for the outcome of the negotiations. Perhaps his contacts with Mylius and Schaep's secretary Johan Oste had convinced him of the serious character of the situation. Arnold gives the evident preparations for war as the main argument for his decision to return to Holland. His assessment proved to be correct; the parties could not come to an agreement and a confrontation between the two sea-powers was inevitable, although the actual war did not break out before the summer of 1652.

In discussing Arnold's decision to return to Leyden before the winter we have passed over Richter's reply to Arnold's letter. This letter of 22 August⁵⁸ has already been referred to in connection with Durie, but Richter's reply contains other interesting remarks. Having expressed his obligation to Arnold for all the useful and interesting information passed on to him, Richter continues by saying that Arnold's enthusiastic report recalled to his mind the time of his own visit to England back in 1617:

Thirty-four years ago I had the same new experience. How numerous and how excellent are the men of letters this nation can boast of, how excellent are its libraries and manuscripts! And how friendly are the people towards foreigners eager for knowledge! And if I had not seen it with my own eyes, it would have been more than enough to consult the great Erasmus who never stopped praising England and the English and who talks enthusiastically about them in nearly all his letters.

Richter adds that he hopes for one thing, namely to be able to see

the books by Selden and Vossius, discussed at great length by Arnold in his letter, at the latter's return. This is another indication that it was certainly Arnold's intention to purchase books in England and to take them home to Nuremberg.

This was to be Richter's last letter to Arnold. On 9 December 1651 Georg Richter died, nearly sixty years old. A couple of days later, on 16 December, Arnold, as yet unaware of Richter's death, wrote a very long letter to Richter.⁵⁹ Apart from a brief explanation for his early return to Holland there is hardly any news about England except the story of a four-year-old boy, a sort of child prodigy, seen in action by Arnold in Queen's College, Cambridge. This child, the son of a washer-woman, displayed a remarkable knowledge of Greek.

The rest of the letter is devoted to a very long comparative study, partly historical, partly legal, partly linguistic. The starting-point is a discussion of the Longobardic laws, but Arnold goes off on many side-issues and he refers to a great many languages. Dutch, German, English, French, Gothic, Icelandic, Danish, Portuguese, Latin and Greek are mentioned and used in philological comparisons. It is remarkable how often Arnold refers to English authors in this field. The following list may be given: Richard Verstegen, *A restitution of decayed intelligence* (EB 302); Sir Henry Spelman, *Archeologus*; John Skene, *De verborum significatione* (EB 256); John Cowell, *Interpres verborum juris Anglicani* (LB 45); William Camden, *Britannia* (LB 33); Meric Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis* (LB 37); Francis Junius, *Lexicon Anglo-Saxonicum*; John Spelman, *Psalterium Davidis Latino Saxonicum* (LB 188); John Davies, *Rudimenta Cambro-Britannicae*; William Lisle, *Divers ancient monuments in the Saxon tongue* (EB 189). Arnold also refers to manuscripts he has consulted in Selden's library and in the Cottonian Library. This letter is clearly an opportunity for Arnold to show some results of his research in England making use of his recently acquired English books. Talking about the spelling "wh" in "which", "what", "who" etc. he observes that this is quite common in English and to support his argument he refers to the poems of what he calls the oldest English poets. He then gives the names of Spenser, Phaer, Golding, Sidney, Tusser, Johnson, John Davies of Hereford and Harington.⁶⁰ It is an interesting list showing that poetry can be used for the most unexpected purposes.

Once back in Holland Arnold mainly applied himself to the preparation for the press of his annotations to Cato's *Dirae*. Evidence for this can be found in a letter to Selden, dated 12 January 1652,⁶¹ which also confirms that John Selden was more than a casual acquaintance. In this letter he expresses his immense gratitude towards Selden and thanks him very much for the kindness and help he received during his time in England. He then answers questions by Selden concerning the whereabouts of Salmasius, new editions of the works of Gerhard John Vossius and the reputation of Blondellus.⁶² An interesting remark is that the Elzevir publishers have sent Golius's *Lexicon Arabicum* to the Easter Market at Frankfort. It is the only

place in Arnold's letters where the Frankfort Book Fair is mentioned. At the end of the letter Arnold says that he is preparing his annotations to Cato's *Dirae* for the press and in this connection he asks Selden a few questions about English law. He shows special interest in Selden's notes on Fleta and Fortescue.⁶³

Besides working on his edition of Cato he found time to call on old friends. One of the people he had met in England, Francis Junius, had come to Holland and Arnold and Junius saw quite a lot of each other. Through Junius Arnold was probably introduced to Isaac Vossius. In a letter to Junius of 25 December 1652⁶⁴ Arnold, who by that time was back in Nuremberg, calls Junius his very good friend and he inquires after their common English acquaintances Whelock, Selden, and Ussher. He also asks Junius to pass on his best wishes to Gronovius and Blondellus.

As far as one can make out this letter to Junius is the last immediate contact resulting from Arnold's five months in England. No other correspondence with his English friends has been preserved. Yet it certainly was not the last time in his career that he showed himself interested in England and in English authors. There is, of course, his library, containing a remarkable collection of English books, for which the foundation was laid during his English visit. Moreover, Arnold would pass on his interest in England to his son Andreas and through him was to renew his acquaintance with that country in the 1680s. But also before his son's visit to England there are a number of publications which show Arnold's knowledge of English writers. A brief discussion of these works seems a useful addition to this chapter.

In 1660 Arnold was responsible for a new edition of Diggory Whear's *Relectiones hyemales*,⁶⁵ first published at Oxford in 1637. In the preface to this work he gives an anecdote about his return from England in 1651. During the crossing the ship he was travelling on was nearly wrecked off the Dutch coast. Christoph writes that of all the books he was bringing from England the loss of Whear's book would have been most painful to him. Fortunately, he arrived safely and nine years later the Nuremberg edition of this historical-methodological book saw the light.

Alexander Ross's work *Πανσεβεια: or a view of all religions* (first ed. London, 1653) was a popular book. It gives an attractive survey of a great many exotic religions from the earliest times onwards and went through nine editions from 1653 till 1696.⁶⁶ It is not surprising that in 1668 the time had come for a German translation entitled *Alexander Rossen Unterschiedliche Gottesdienste in der gantzen Welt ... Aus Englischer, in die hochteutsche Sprache mit allem Fleiss übersetzt* (Heidelberg, 1668). Following Ross's work we find a translation of a work by Bernhard Varenius,⁶⁷ dealing with the same subject, and an appendix by Christoph Arnold. The full title of the appendix is *Anhang Etzliche Altsächsische Wochen- und andere Teutsche Götzen-bilder betreffend. Nebenst dero sonderbaren*

Gottesdiensten, Altären, Opfern, Priestern und anders von Christoph Arnold beygefüget. The idea of the appendix is to supplement Ross's work. In his preface to the appendix Arnold states that the information given by Ross about the old Saxon gods of the week ("Wochengötter") is rather limited and incomplete and requires some additions. And Arnold continues by saying that another Englishman, Richard Verstegen, in his *A restitution of decayed intelligence*, provides further information about, as well as illustrations of, the Saxon gods. Since Verstegen's book is hardly known among German scholars⁶⁸ and difficult to get hold of, Arnold adds, it seems a good idea to give pictures and passages from Verstegen's work as a useful addition to Ross's account of the Saxon gods. But Arnold does not want to confine himself to a simple paraphrase or translation of Verstegen's text, he wants to add information from other sources as well and not just about the gods of the week: "etwas weitläufftiger und deutlicher so viel sich vermittelst der Historien thun lässt an- und auszuführen". Arnold's appendix, therefore, is an adaptation and enlargement of a part of Chapter III of *A restitution of decayed intelligence*, "Of our Saxon ancestors", including copies of the original plates.⁶⁹ Verstegen is not the only English author referred to. In the appendix we find references to Edward Herbert, Meric Casaubon, William Camden and John Skene.⁷⁰

Arnold tries to explain the old Germanic names for the days of the week and he goes in for long mythological stories from all the Germanic peoples, often consulting classical sources. Tacitus, for example, is often referred to. As might be expected from Arnold there is a strong philological element in his explanations. The "Anhang" certainly proves that the English books in Arnold's library were used and that Arnold, seventeen years after his visit to England, possessed a knowledge of English that enabled him to understand and to translate English authors and to use them for his own publications.

The appendix to the translation of Ross's *View of all religions* is one of the works Arnold wrote in German. The majority of his works, however, were written in Latin, and here too we can find an example of the use of an English source for a publication. In 1674 Johann Jakob Leibnitz (1653-1705), son of the librarian Justus Jakob Leibnitz (1610-1683) and a student at Altdorf University, made a speech for his professors, fellow-students and other guests. This was not unusual for a student at Altdorf; Christoph and Andreas Arnold held similar speeches during their time at university.⁷¹ The address was published under the title *Memorabilia Inclutae Bibliothecae in Illustri Noricorum Universitate hoc est Naturae Admiranda, Ingenii humana Arteficia & Antiquitatis Monumenta* (Nuremberg, 1675). It contains a long inventory of all the miracles of nature, ingenious artefacts, inventions and the monuments of antiquity that could be found referred to in the books of the University Library. To this solemn address was added an appendix by Christoph Arnold.

On the title-page it is referred to as *Chr. Arnoldi De Hydrriotaphia hoc est urnis sepulchralibus in agro Anglorum Nortfolciensi repertis* but the heading to the appendix itself simply says *Epistola Gratulatoria*. Arnold's *Epistola* is based on Sir Thomas Browne's *Hydrriotaphia: Urne Buriall*.⁷²

It was not the first time that works by Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) were noticed on the Continent. *Religio Medici* (1642) was quite a popular book and the Latin translation by John Merryweather (1644) attracted considerable attention outside England. Other Latin editions were published at Strassburg in 1652, 1665 and 1692. The work was well-known in Holland, Belgium, France, Italy and Germany.⁷³ *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (or *Vulgar Errors*) (1646) had its German translations and also Morhofius in his *Polyhistor* mentions the works of Browne.⁷⁴ Arnold's appendix is another indication that Browne's work drew the attention of the German reader. The subject-matter of Arnold's appendix fits in nicely with the context of Leibnitz's solemn address since the main emphasis is on the discovery of a collection of ancient urns. In his introduction to the appendix Arnold makes mention of his promise to Leibnitz to exchange views in Latin on an English work by Sir Thomas Browne, *Urne Buriall*. He adds that it is a book about the Roman urns recently found in Norfolk.

Christoph Arnold does not explicitly tell Leibnitz, or the reader for that matter, that he intends to give a straightforward translation of *Urne Buriall* and perhaps, strictly speaking, this is not the case. Arnold's *Epistola* is in fact a careful selection of certain passages, sentences and even notes from Browne's work, translated into Latin and arranged and combined in such a way that the result is a more or less independent essay. In order to find out what criteria Arnold applied in his selection we must, however, first of all have a look at the original work by Browne.

The occasion of *Urne Buriall* was the discovery of more than forty urns in a field near Walsingham in Norfolk. Browne was fascinated by this discovery and he gives an extensive description of every detail relating to it. In his opinion the urns were Roman and he goes a long way to make this plausible by means of his own kind of etymological interpretation of the surrounding place-names.

As a matter of fact, the urns were not of Roman origin and the permanent scientific value of Browne's work is very limited. The interest of *Urne Buriall* for the modern reader lies in its literary, rather than its scientific value. For Sir Thomas Browne the urns are only a starting-point for further meditation. To arrive at scientific truth is not his real ambition. Browne enjoys marvellous tales and he becomes really enthusiastic when a strange explanation presents itself. His true interest lies in the human associations of the urns, the fate of mankind and the mortality of man. Browne's curiously hybrid language, a mixture of ornate latinisms with words of direct Saxon derivation, imparts a peculiar movement and musical

quality to the work. Browne has been called a Janus-figure,⁷⁵ looking back to the rich and colourful world of Shakespeare, and forward to the new scientific age. The main interest of *Urne Buriall* today is as a landmark in the history of English prose style.

But when we look at Christoph Arnold's adaptation of *Urne Buriall* we notice that he does not show himself particularly interested in "the human associations" of the urns or "the musical quality" of the language. He concentrates on what he sees as the facts and selects those passages which offer more direct information about the urns. He gives details about their number, the soil in which they were found, their contents, the etymology of neighbouring place-names, the history of the Roman occupation of this part of England, and locations of urns in other parts of Britain as well as on the Continent, all this by means of a selective translation of passages from *Urne Buriall*. The "scientific" approach of Arnold is stressed by the inclusion of the illustrations from *Urne Buriall*. The original plates were not used but it is obvious that the engraver carefully copied the drawings from the original.

There are two possible explanations for this special treatment of *Urne Buriall*. Arnold had been interested in archaeology for quite a time. Already in his first letter to Richter, of 2 August 1650,⁷⁶ he mentions the discovery of inscriptions devoted to the goddess Nehallenia on the island of Walcheren and his attempts to translate a work by Boxhornius on this subject from Dutch into Latin.⁷⁷ It is obvious that the archaeological side of Browne's work appealed to Arnold. A second explanation may be found in the character of the work to which Arnold's *Epistola* is an appendix. A considerable part of Leibnitz's address is devoted to antique monuments with which Arnold's archaeological treatise fits in well.

The conclusion can be the same as the one following our discussion of Arnold's appendix to Ross's work. Browne's *Hydriotaphia: Urne Buriall* is another example of a book in Arnold's possession that did not remain a dead object in his library, but was read, translated and used for his own scholarly purposes.

Among the list of Arnold's works given by Witte in his *Diarium Biographicum* (1688) we notice yet another title suggesting English sources. It is *Relatio historica de Quakeris, cum praefatione de veteri et moderno Ecclesiae Anglicanae statu* and presents us with some difficulties since Arnold's authorship is rather questionable. Witte states that the work is anonymous⁷⁸ and Jöcher and Will⁷⁹, probably deriving their information from Witte, cannot provide any further details. There is another source which, however, makes the question of Arnold's authorship problematic. Johann Fabricius (1644-1729) in his *Historia Bibliothecae Fabricianae* (Wolfenbüttel-Helmstadt, 1718-1724), a survey of important works from his own library, discusses a book called *Anabaptisticum et entusiasticum Pantheon* (Halberstadt, 1702), a collection of reprints of tracts and pamphlets about a great variety of sectaries, especially anabaptists

and Quakers. The second part of the *Pantheon* bears the title *Historia Fanaticorum, oder eine vollkommene Relation und Wissenschaft von denen Schwärmer als alten Anabaptisten und neuen Quäkern*. It is a translation of a work originally written in English by Richard Blome *The Fanatick History: or an exact relation and account of old Anabaptists and new Quakers* (London, 1660). Fabricius states that Christoph Arnold is the translator.⁸⁰ When we consult the *Pantheon* itself, however, we meet with a surprise. On the title-page of the *Historia Fanaticorum* we find "ins Deutsche übersetzt von Benedikt Figken". It is certain that Fabricius refers to this work and yet here Benedikt Figken is given as the translator and author of the preface instead of Christoph Arnold. The explanation cannot be that Benedikt Figken is a pseudonym. The *Altpreussische Biographie*⁸¹ has an entry on Figken. He was born in Danzig in 1631 and died in the same place in 1693. He was a theologian, visited England in 1660 where he worked in the Bodleian library,⁸² and was the author of a number of works:

In Danzig gab er 1664 die Uebersetzung eines in 1660 in London erschienenen Buches heraus *Historia Fanaticorum oder vollkommene Relation und Wissenschaft von den alten Anabaptisten und neuen Quäkern*.

Later he published another work on the Quakers. It seems to be certain that Benedikt Figken translated *The Fanatick History* and this makes it very difficult to see how Witte and Fabricius could ascribe the work to Christoph Arnold.

However, so far we have been talking about a 1702 reprint of the *Historia Fanaticorum*, published at a time when both Arnold and Figken were dead, but when we look at the original dates of publication claimed for this work Arnold's case is stronger and judging from that evidence it would seem that it was Figken who used Arnold's translation rather than the other way round. According to Fabricius, Arnold's translation was first published in Nuremberg in 1661⁸³ and we saw that Figken's work dated from 1664. This would suggest Arnold rather than Figken as the original translator and editor of Blome's work.

A second possibility might be that Figken and Arnold each made an independent translation of *The Fanatick History*. In that case a comparison of the two editions could solve the problem but unfortunately neither of the two original publications has been located.

A third, intriguing, possibility, might be related to a strange story about Arnold given in Wetzel's *Hymnopoëagraphia*:

Er hatte sonst die Art, dass er die Titeln von raren Büchern wegrisse, damit man nicht wissen konnte, was für Auctores es eigentlich wären, deren er sich bey Herausgebung seiner Schrifften,

die Wittenius c. ad. A 1686 recensiret,
bedienete.⁸⁴

This remarkable anecdote is refuted by Jungendres in his preface to the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* in the following logical way "... this cannot be true because either the work is so rare that you are the only one possessing a copy and then the act is superfluous, or it is a well-known work and then everyone can consult it and find out the truth". This seems a conclusive argument, yet if one wanted to play the devil's advocate one might advance the theory that Arnold managed to convince a number of people that a work published in a town a long way off and by an unknown clergyman, was really his.

A TRANSLATION OF CHRISTOPH ARNOLD'S LETTER OF 7 AUGUST 1651¹ TO

GEORG RICHTER

Christoph Arnold salutes the most honourable Dr. Georg Richter

I have not sent you a letter for a long time, most illustrious sir, partly because you are occupied with important official duties which you willingly and competently take upon you again and again, partly because I have been travelling about continually in order to visit new places. Travelling through Brabant in June, I celebrated the Dies Natalis of the University of Altdorf at the University of Louvain, on the day of the feast of Peter and Paul, where I saw penitents, out of breath because of the heavy load, carry around a wooden statue of Peter in a sort of cathedra. In Brussels I happened to meet Laurentius Chiffletius S.J.,² a very friendly man, who introduced me to the Superior of the Society in Mechlin. The latter showed me, among other memorable things, in the garden near the canal, or moat, the place where the elector John Frederick³ was held prisoner by Charles V. In the library of the Society he showed me your *Orationes*,⁴ while praising you highly and attentively inquiring after their very learned author. After a journey through Brabant and a small part of Flanders - for I was prevented from travelling any further because of the sudden raids of the French⁵ - I went back to Rotterdam quite soon because of the hot weather and there I embarked on an admiral's ship⁶ on the 6th of July and due to favourable winds I arrived in England on the 10th. Having spent some time in London, I went first to the University of Oxford and then to the University of Cambridge and I made the acquaintance, in person or by letter, of the most famous men.

In London I am on familiar terms with the great Selden, who, admitting me readily into his own well-furnished library, takes me also sometimes to certain gardens on the Thames,⁷ where there are rare Greek and Roman inscriptions, stones and marbles, the reading of which is actually like viewing Greece and Italy at the same time within the bounds of Great Britain. From the Cottonian Library, of which he is in charge, he has several times let me have a sight of important Anglo-Saxon manuscripts; and he spontaneously offered me letters of recommendation to the Oxford librarian, John Rous, a very obliging and learned man. I have besides formed a particularly intimate acquaintance with the Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher, Primate of all Ireland; and whether I ought to admire and venerate most his singular politeness, or his divine powers of memory, I am

quite at a loss: when the talk turns on matters of antiquity, he often recites, without hesitation, whole pages from the Greek and Latin historians. John Durie has become my closest companion near Westminster, a man who, as you know, is affability itself, and who has now been appointed keeper of what was formerly the King's Library in St. James' Palace;⁸ where, in a chapel, built originally, as they say, for the expected Spanish bride of Charles, new book-cases are now being set up. I had some hope of being able to examine the King's manuscripts; but Durie has with all seriousness refused to receive the indiscriminate masses of books that they try to thrust upon him; they say too that the most precious manuscripts of that library were offered as a gift to the Dutch ambassador⁹ immediately after the King's death, and were very negligently kept. This gentleman [Durie], who is certainly quite intelligent, dines almost every day with the Parliament-men, and I have very frequent conversations with him about the state of the new Republic. The strenuous Defender of the same, Milton, enters readily into talk: his style is pure and his writing most terse. Of the old English theologians and their commentaries on the Books of the Holy Scripture, the erudition of which I can attest, he seemed to me altogether to entertain a too harsh, if not an unjust opinion. John Greaves, the Oxford Professor of Astronomy, and highly accomplished in the Arabic and Persian tongues, is also very kind and attentive to me. Francis Junius, the relative of Gerhard John Vossius,¹⁰ and a most cultivated man, is now preparing for the press a Primer of the Anglo-Saxon tongue and an Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,¹¹ and has told me all about his doings in the kindest manner. He also showed me a list of all the new and revised works of Gerhard John Vossius (which he together with Vossius's son Isaac will edit carefully). I give this list here with their permission.

Origines, nine volumes¹²

De Vitiis Sermonis, ten books¹³

*De Arte Grammatica*¹⁴

*De Poetis Graecis & Latinis*¹⁵

De Philosophia

*De Philosophorum Sectis*¹⁶

*De Manichaeis & Stoicis*¹⁷

*De cognitione sui*¹⁸

*Ars historica*¹⁹

*Isagoge in Chronologiam sacram*²⁰

*Theses Theologicae*²¹

*Progymnasmata*²²

*Harmonia Evangelica de passione & morte Christi*²³

*Diatriba De Resurrectione & Ascensu Christi in Coelos*²⁴

*De Miraculis Christi*²⁵

*In Epistolam Plinii de Christianis, & Edicta Caesarum adversus Christianos, Commentarius*²⁶

*De S. Scripturae, ac veterum Theologorum lectione, ad pacem Ecclesiae componendam, Dissertatio*²⁷

*Dissertatio epistolica de jure Magistratus in Ecclesiasticis*²⁸

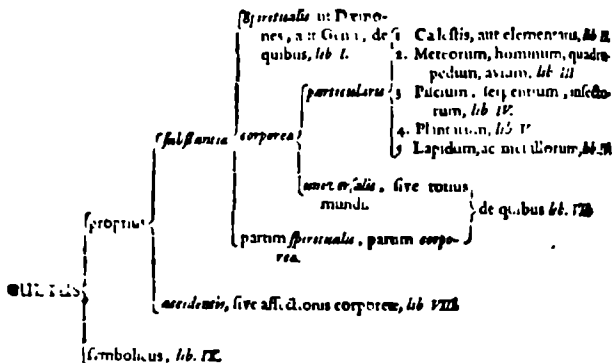
De Gradibus ministrorum Ecclesiae & de Episcopis

*De Primatu Petri, & sedis Romanae*²⁹

*De Idololatria, ac praecipue Pontificia*³⁰

De Theologia Gentili,³¹ of which we do not possess all volumes yet.

Here is the οἰκονομία, or a scheme of the complete *De Theologia Gentili, & Physiologia Christiana*³²



Moreover, Mr. William Petty, Professor of Medicine in Gresham College, London, has entertained me with several useful and yet charming dialogues on the wonders of nature and mechanical appliances. The most honourable Mr. Fox, formerly travelling companion to the Earl of Arundel in his Embassy to our invincible Emperor,³³ has obtained such free admission for me into the Arundel Gardens that they are at all times open to me for the inspection of the statues, paintings, marbles, inscriptions, urns and vases.³⁴ Meric Casaubon, now living here in a pleasant suburban cottage communicates with me by letter. For the rest I have given myself so much to the society of Hermann Mylius, recently come as envoy from the illustrious Count of Oldenburg to the English Republic, that I often stay with him, his lodgings being close to mine. The most eminent

people here are much with him, such as the celebrated French preacher Jean d'Espagne, Durie, the Dutch Secretary, and others.

At the University of Cambridge, Mr. Abraham Whelock, Professor of Arabic and Anglo-Saxon and librarian of the University, a man with whom I am on very good terms, was particularly glad to show me Greek manuscripts and Royal Charters, addressed to the University, from the library. This library has grown at an astonishing rate up to now due to the acquisition of some libraries of bishops. Thanks to a recommendation from this gentleman I had the honour to be admitted to the libraries of Peterhouse, Queen's College and St. John's College to examine the great wealth of manuscripts. In St. John's College I was agreeably surprised to be shown a number of religious works in vulgar Greek, donated in the year 1628 by an anonymous benefactor³⁵ at the instigation of Richard Sybbes,³⁶ Professor of Theology and former senior fellow of this college. Here are to be seen Chinese books, beautifully illustrated with pictures and historical drawings. I also saw the *Sophne Torah* of Maimonides,³⁷ in four volumes, printed in Venice, on dark-blue paper. I saw there numerous περικοπαι,³⁸ recklessly destroyed through "circumcision". The great treasure of the public library of this University is a Syriac-Arabic lexicon, the *Bar Bahlul* MS,³⁹ which stands out as the moon among smaller lights. It is completely written in Syriac characters; the lower-case letters are in Arabic, the capitals in Syriac. The famous English biblical scholar Bodwell [i.e. Bedwell] left seven volumes of an autograph Arabic lexicon, together with a fount of Arabic types, to this library.⁴⁰

The situation at both universities is as follows. Many students have already been called up for the army, particularly at Oxford and above all at Christ Church where recently out of sixty students only eleven stayed behind because they refused to join the army. From the chapel of this college the stained-glass windows were removed on the pretext that they caused a tremendous scandal by those who anxiously defend freedom of conscience. The lead covering the Christ Church buildings dating from 1641 was taken down by the army because it could be used for the production of bullets. Is it not your Ulpianus⁴¹ (I apologize for my verbosity to such an accomplished jurist like you) who says "that sacred things are also subject to the laws of the country. Therefore the people themselves are perfectly entitled to reconsider a decision and secularize matters", which the lawyers Paulus⁴² and Venulejus⁴³ clearly show. "The times can make it necessary", says Hugo, that oracle from Delft,⁴⁴ "that sacred things are used for profane purposes in case of war by those people who have consecrated them formerly." Thus Pericles did, under the promise that everything would be restored to its original condition, and also Mago in Spain, the Romans in the Mithridacian war, Sulla, Pompey and Caesar; why then could Cromwell not do so in England? The reason for this is (as the above mentioned

Hugo shows in Book III, Chapter V. par. 2 of D[e]J[ure] B[elli] & P[acis]) that "things which are called sacred, are indeed not placed beyond human use, but remain common property; things are only sacred because of the purpose for which they are intended." But why discuss this in a letter?

The fellows of the colleges of this very old and royal Cambridge, hasten in great numbers to Oxford, where as you know Cromwell is the Chancellor. Meanwhile the dons complain even in public that they are being expelled from their colleges, but I must say that they speak all too harshly about this great change in England, if I am not mistaken. At Cambridge, quite recently, William Sanctcraft [i.e. Sancroft], fellow of Emmanuel College, lost his position and benefice because he had allegedly not minced his words in a sermon to the clergy about their duties. Immediately at the beginning of the manuscript sermon, which I obtained with great difficulty, I noticed this among other things:

"That great pedlar of Gehenna,⁴⁵ that sly apostate Julian,⁴⁶ saw very well that religion cannot be preserved without study and he shrewdly omitted nothing by which he could damage Christianity; having searched the book-cases of all the people of the underworld and having sounded the abysmal depths of the devil for advice, he finally turned to the quickest method to destroy Christianity in this world: he forbade studies (Theod. lib. III.c.7).⁴⁷ The leaders of the early Church moaned under this blow and it sharply reminded them of the ruthless Diocletian⁴⁸ and the bloodthirsty Caligula.⁴⁹ They would have borne the earlier persecutions as bravely as possible; they had proved themselves to be above fear of death in what form soever; chains and dungeons, crosses and gallows, flames and death by fire they had scorned from the bottom of their hearts; but now they saw the doors of the schools closed, the gates of the places of study bolted, and the entrance to the study of the humanities barred. Truly, of all the ten evils for the primitive Church, this was the very worst and of all the blows given the most devastating. We most sincerely hope that the most merciful God, under whose guidance both universities can be saved - they are to the country what the pupil is to the eye - will see to it that no Julian, the arch-enemy of the universities and of religion, will ever rise among us. They, who look askance at us University scholars and who gladly would like to see the lights of Israel extinguished, have surely badly inflamed eyes; those bats and night-owls, disgusting birds of bad omen, lovers of the darkness, speaking ill of the sun itself and revolting against the light. During the reign of Elizabeth there were two scholars and leading schismatics, Greenwood and Barrows,⁵⁰ who also secretly tempted that queen to pluck out both eyes of England, in other words to destroy the universities. The good God delivered us in those days from the nocturnal fear (ps. 91,5); but today woe is us because the arrow flies by day. The

former were only faint-hearted enemies of scholarship and their proceedings were shadowy and ineffective. But these days they busily fly about in broad daylight, like the evil spirit of noon; they become increasingly impudent and they do not hesitate to come into the open, these jealous Philistines, publicly declaring that they are hostile to the Universities. They industriously block up the wells of living water, which our fathers of blessed memory had sunk, and fill them with earth. And they divert the living water via subterranean ways and afterwards secretly fertilize and irrigate their own patches of ground. Oh, how deeply they hurt us when they call out loudly with Caleb (Jos. 15.16): "He that smiteth Kiriath-Sepher, the city of books and study, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsa my daughter to wife!". And it came to pass that the impudent and avaricious woman lighted off her ass, and said: "You have given me dry earth; give also water and southland (v.19), and you will certainly be given my two bloodsucking daughters, give and bring." (Prov. 30,15). One can never offer her enough of this stream till both wells are made dirty and thoroughly deprived of water. But I do not want to twist the knife in the wound. I will only say this: Prick a tender mother in the cerebral membrane and the brain will be destroyed and death will follow instantly. Hurt the Alma Mater, and all knowledge will be lost, and together with all knowledge the dignity of priesthood and all concern for piety." So far William Sanctcraft.

They say that for three years now there have been no lectures and public disputes owing to the civil strife. However, it is said that in the Oxford colleges in private discussions the authority of Aristotle⁵¹ is so great that whoever keeps on opposing this authority, or speaks denigratingly about it, is expected to pay the huge sum of five shillings (this is one "Philippicum").⁵² Truly, if in England the Holy Scripture had the same weight as Aristotle, it would not be attacked by so many sectarian slanderers.

Of Church matters what shall I write? The Independents are now the masters in the Church and it is they who preach most before the magistrates and notables. They have their sermons in the upper church of St. Paul's, the Presbyterians theirs in the crypt. Their published eloquence keeps every public place astir, where in the turbulent atmosphere of the day also the speeches on each recent event are sold with great noise. From both universities and from various counties divines run up to town to preach before Parliament, and apparently Parliament does not mind their staying away from their parochial duties. For they so increase the number of livings and ecclesiastical offices that in several places divines hold simultaneously as many livings as there are words to a hexameter or even a whole couplet. Mr. White⁵³ for example, is said, so the hexameter goes, to have received the following offices:

Usury, St. Dunstan's, Paul's, Christchurch, Salisbury, Windsor. And Mr. Hill's⁵⁴ winnings are given in the following distich:

Westminster, Martin's, Assembly, Trinity, Tichmarsh, Michael, Procan (sede vacante) Mary.

These exquisite verses, circulating at Cambridge, I pass on to you with all the goodwill with which I lately received them from a very trusty friend.

Forty priests are at the moment kept in custody: and two or three alleged instigators of a conspiracy, Mr. Drake,⁵⁵ Mr. Christopher Love⁵⁶ and a nobleman, John Gibbons, are kept imprisoned till the day of their trial. One of these days the death sentence will be pronounced against them. The leader of the Independents, Hugh Peters,⁵⁷ and other holy men (that is at least what they seem to be), are becoming captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, marching men about in London and elsewhere. The said Hugh has a regiment in Ireland, and General Cromwell himself so highly extols his courage that he reckons this one preacher worth a hundred soldiers: he is always the first in attacking a rampart, the rest following in his footsteps so that he has already taken several towns in Ireland by his sheer eagerness. On the Lord's day after the sermons, enthusiasts and fanatics hold their own evening exercises of worship. This week I heard four working-men holding forth, one after the other, as preachers-extra-ordinary, in an obscure street near the Thames, called St. Lawrence Lane, or now commonly *Heresy Street*. They claim for themselves the exclusive name of *The Christians*. In the borough of Clerkenwell Green, they have imprisoned the *Ranters*,⁵⁸ whom I take to be essentially schismatics and violators of religion: they call a man not a man, but a fellow-creature, i.e. *creaturam sociam*, *einen Creatur-Gesellen*. There is also this blasphemer, whose pregnant wife is to give birth to the Messiah; she is also accompanied by a virgin, who in the most extraordinary way praises her future child to all the sceptical visitors as the bringer of our salvation. There is also roaming about a girl from the group of the Guardians who maintains that she is a Jew and not a Jewess; in prison there is a wretch who is so crazy and foolish that he believes himself to be Joshua. There is also a Chiliast who expects to reign with the Messiah and his kingdom on earth.

It is dangerous to write about the situation in the new Republic in these uncertain and violent times; therefore I had rather you would consider me a Pythagorean⁵⁹ who is now in his five-year period of obligatory silence. The extraordinary modesty of Parliament is much praised; its members loathe the pompous titles in official letters from abroad. They are only satisfied with the opening *Au Parlement de l'Angleterre*; they do not accept a letter presented to them with another opening but they will return it to the sender. The Acts of Parliament, already printed, fill a volume of considerable size. I selected some acts related to theology:

- *About the Abolition of Deans, Chapters, Canons, Prebendaries and other Offices and Titles, relating to Cathedral, College Church or Chapel, in England as well as in Wales*

- About the Sustenance of Preachers and other pious Customs; with Additions
- About the better Propagation and Explanation of the Gospel in Wales
- About the Promotion and Propagation of Jesus Christ in New England
- About the Relief of religious and peaceful people in matters of Religion, because of former rigour
- About the Suppression of the impious habit of swearing and cursing
- About the Observation of Sundays and other days, both days of Public Penitence as well as days of Public Thanksgiving; together with a Collection of former Laws, Statutes and Ordinations
- Against certain despicable atheistic and blasphemous opinions, derogatory of the Honour of God and ruining human Society
- About the care of disabled Soldiers and Widows, in Ireland as well as in Scotland
- About the punishment of Crimes, committed both at sea and overseas

This more I add, that in almost all towns, halls, colleges, schools, churches and courts and on bridges, the statues, images, inscriptions and titles of Royalty are being destroyed by order of the authorities; and the Parliamentary signs, the English Cross and the Irish Harp, are affixed instead. I was really astonished to see that the following epigraph high up on a wall of a church, along the public highway near Stronbridge [Stourbridge], written in the time of the kings, was not destroyed:

REX MAJESTATE
 GREX LIBERTATE
 LEX VERITATE
 GAUDET SUA, VERAX MERLINUS
 ANGLUS EXOPTANS DIXIT

[May the King rejoice in his majesty
 The masses in their liberty
 The law in its veracity
 This is the wish of the true-born Englishman Merlin]

Among the new monuments of Westminster Abbey, near the epitaphs of Isaac Casaubon and Richard Cox,⁶⁰ one is struck by an inscription for Thomas May,⁶¹ who has given us a supplement of seven volumes to Lucan and also a *Survey of the History of the English Parliament*, in three parts. I will add therefore this epitaph as well, as it is something new:

Quem Anglicana Respub:
 habuit vindicem
 Ornamentum Literaria,
 Seculi sui Vatum Celeberrimus
 Deliciae Futuri:
 Lucanus Alter plus quam Romanus,
 Historicus Fidus
 Equitis Aurati Filius Primogenitus

THOMAS MAJUS

H.S.E.

Qui Paternis titulis Claritatis Suae
Specimen usq: adeo superaddit,
ut à supremo Anglorum Senatu
ad Annales suos conscribendos
fuerit accitus.

Tandem fide intermerata Parlamento
praestita. Morte inopina
Noctu correptus. Diem
suum obiit
Id. Non.

A^O libertatis Humanae restitutae MDCLI⁶²
Anglicanae

Aetatis suae LV.

Hoc in honorem Servi tam

Bene meriti,

Parlament: Reip: Angl:

P.P.

[Supreme Defender of the English Commonwealth
An Ornament of the Letters

The most famous Poet of his Generation
Treasure for the Future

A new Lucan, more than Roman
Faithful Historian

First born son of a Knight

THOMAS MAY

is buried here

Who added to the title of his Father

The Example of his own Splendour

So that he was invited by

The Supreme Senate of the English Nation
to write its Annals

Finally prominent by his unstained
belief in Parliament.

A sudden Death took him by Surprise

During the Night

He died

November 13

In the year of the restored freedom of Humanity MDCLI⁶²
England

At the Age of 55

This tomb was erected by

The Parliament of the English Commonwealth

In Honour of a very Deserving Servant]

Nearly the whole of the nobility are living in the country, pretending to be ignorant of the things that happen nowadays, so as to avoid suspicion and guilt. The great Selden gave up (or was forced to give up) all his parliamentary duties, which had already been reduced considerably anyway. Meanwhile he still sees to it that the Acts are affixed to the proper walls and doors. He has illustrated my album with the following verse:

Lupus in fabula:
.....fruere, quae landas, canis:
Regnare nolo, liber ut non sim mihi

[The wolf in the fable:
.....enjoy what you praise, o dog;
I do not want to rule because [then] I am
not free anymore]

Salmasius, however, uses this aphorism of Martial:

Reges ac Dominos habere debet,
Qui se non habet.

[Who cannot rule himself must have Kings
and Lords]

I will never forget the word uttered by a fellow of Christ Church College, Oxford, in a prayer for England: "God", he said, "give us back our common sense".

Not long ago there came a mintmaster from France who introduced the custom of marking the English money around the edge, since many people till now have damaged this public money by scratching, scraping or cutting the edge; I mean "radere" [scrape] (L.8.D. *De Falsis*)⁶³ or "mensuram circuli exteriores in solido incidere & arrodere" [carve into or nibble at the measure of the outer edge] (C. Theod. lib. IX. tit. 22).⁶⁴ Those who do this are called παραψαλισται in the *Basílica*,⁶⁵ and such a coin is called *clipped money* or *cut money* by the English. Violetus,⁶⁶ an English lawyer, published a neat little pamphlet about this kind of money and the punishments for the various kinds of forgeries: *The Commons of England etc.*⁶⁷

I will finally add a list of books, as you asked me to do. The books which John Selden, ὁ θαυμασιός ("the admirable") has written or edited in Latin are pretty rare:

- *Eadmari, Monachi Cantuariensis, Historiae Novorum, sive sui Seculi libri VI, ex Bibliotheca Cottoniana, cum Notis & Spicilegio*⁶⁸
 - *Analecta Anglo-Britannica*
 - *Janus Anglorum*, in which one can find English law⁶⁹
 - *De Successionibus in bona defunctorum, & in Pontificatum*⁷⁰
 - *De Jure Naturali & Gentium, juxta disciplinam Ebraeorum libri VII*⁷¹
- Later he added as a supplement:

- *Uxor Ebraica, seu de Nuptiis et Divortiis, ex jure civili, id est, Divino & Talmudico, veterum Ebraeorum libri III*⁷²
- *FLETA, seu Commentarius, Juris Anglicani sic nuncupatus sub Eduardo Reg. I seu circa annos abhinc CCCXL, ab Anonymo conscriptus*

together with

- *Tractatulus vetus de Agendi Excipiendique Formulis Gallicanus, FET ASSAVOIR dictus*

And also:

- *Seldeni ad Fletam Dissertatio Historica*⁷³
- *Eutychii Aegyptii, Patriarchae Alexandrini Ecclesiae suae Origines, ex Arabico, cum Versione & Commentario*⁷⁴
- *De Anno Civili, & Calendario veteris Ecclesiae, seu Reip. Judaica*⁷⁵
- *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Juridicis veterum Ebraeorum*⁷⁶

He also showed me the following books in English:

- *Titles of Honor*⁷⁷
 - *The Historie of Tithes*,⁷⁸ the first part of which Richard Montagu attacked in the following extraordinary book:
 - *Diatribae, upon the first part of the late History of Tithes*⁷⁹
- and Stephen Net[t]les B.D. wrote the following book with Selden's name in the title:

- *An Answer to the Jewish part of M. Selden's History of Tithes.*⁸⁰

He also showed me books in English by himself about duelling⁸¹ and about the estates of the nobility,⁸² and an old law book *For[t]escu*,⁸³ with his own notes, which I do not possess myself.

John Milton, that celebrated Defender of the English people, has also written:

- *Areopagitica, A Speech for the liberty of unlicenc'd printing, to the Parliament of England*,⁸⁴ directed against the act that only allowed licensed books to be printed. It seems to me that in his *Areopagitica* written as long ago as 1644, this very observant author foresaw the present liberty. Finally, since you are interested in theology, my excellent friend, I will give a few more works by Sir Henry Spelman:
- *Concilia Pambrittannica, Panaglica, Scotica, Hibernica, Cambrica, Marnica, Provincilia & Diocesana*,⁸⁵ in three parts, of which only the first part has been published, containing those councils which have been held from the first Christian centuries onwards till the arrival of the Normans (i.e. Anno Domin 1066)
- *De Sepultura*⁸⁶

and in English

- *De non temerandis Ecclesiis: [Tracts of the Rights and Respect due unto Churches]*⁸⁷
- *Glossarium Latino-Barbara, Peregrina, Obsoleta, & novatae Significationis vocabulae*,⁸⁸ containing a glossary of those words which occurred in the works of religious, and also profane, authors after the severe disturbance in Europe caused by the migration of

the Goths and Vandals. It is a pity, however, that only half of that work is extant.

By James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, are the following works:

- *Gravissimae Quaestionis, de Christianarum Ecclesiarum, in Occidentis praesertim partibus, ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque aetatem continua successione & statu, Historica Explicatio*,⁸⁹ the continuation of which was announced in my presence.
- *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates quibus inserta est pestiferæ adversus Dei gratiam a Pelagio Britanno in Ecclesiam inductæ Haereseos Historia*⁹⁰

Further:

- *Gotte-schalci, & Praedestinationæ controversia[e] ab eo motæ, Historia; una cum duplici ejusdem Confessione*⁹¹
- *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*⁹²

These two works were published in Dublin.

- *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolica vetere, aliisque Fidei formulis, tum ab Occidentalibus tum ab Orientalibus, in prima Catechesi & Baptismo proponi solitis* to which
- *Athanasii Symbolum, a Graecis interpolatum* has been added.⁹³
- *Polycarpi & Ignatii Epistolæ*,⁹⁴ containing a Latin and a Greek version taken from two manuscripts, followed not only by other writings of Ignatius and Polycarpus, but also by a treatise called
- *De Apostolicis Constitutionibus & Canonibus Clementi Romano tributis*.

An *Appendix Ignatiana*⁹⁵ which contains the authentic letters of Ignatius from a Greek manuscript from the Medici Collection:

- *Ignatii, Martyrum a Philone, Agathopode & aliis, qui passione illius interfuerant, descriptum; Tiberiani, Plinii, & Trajani, de constantia Martyrum illius temporis, Epistolæ; Smyrnensis Ecclesiæ, de Polycarpi Martyrio, Epistolæ; in Ignatii & Polycarpi Acta, atque in Epistolas etiam Ignatio perperam adscriptas, Annotationes*⁹⁶
- *Annales Vet[eris] Test[amenti] a prima mundi origine de ducti, una cum rerum Asiaticarum & Aegyptiacarum Chronico*.⁹⁷

Also by him:

- *Dissertatio de Macedonum & Asianorum Anno Solari, cum Graecorum Astronomorum Parapegmate, ad Macedonicæ & Juliani Anni rationes accommodato*.⁹⁸

He wrote the following treatises in English:

- *An Answer to a Challenge, made by a Jesuite in Ireland*,⁹⁹ in which he debated lengthily and skilfully with him, mainly deriving his arguments from antiquity, traditions, the real presence, confession, papal power, purgatory, prayers for the dead, limbo, invocation of the saints, idolatry, free-will and good works, and
- *A Discourse of the Religion, anciently professed by the Irish and Brittain*.¹⁰⁰

I will add a profane work:

- *A Geographical and Historical Disquisition, touching the Asia, properly so-called*,¹⁰¹ in which he also deals with Lydian Asia (which is in fact the Asia often mentioned in the New Testament), the Proconsular Asia, and the Asian diocese. Jeremy Stephens B.D., a one-time Oxford scholar and an expert in the field of antiquity, was responsible for an exceptionally accurate edition of

- *Gregorii Magni Lib[er] de Cura Pastoralis*,¹⁰² amended on the basis of old manuscripts and collated with the Roman edition by some distinguished Oxford theologians.

- *Caec. Cypriani lib[er], de Unitate Ecclesiae*¹⁰³ also collated with old manuscripts by the same theologians and with a commentary by the afore-mentioned Stephan. Also from Oxford manuscripts:

- *Cypriani lib[er] de Bono Patientiae*.¹⁰⁴

Just now I received by Meric Casaubon (Isaac's son)

- *Pietas, contra maledicos patrii nominis, & religionis hostes*.¹⁰⁵

A French theologian wrote a short and modest dissertation

- *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica ad Ecclesiam Scoticam*.¹⁰⁶

John Norton, minister of the church of Ipswich in New England gave a

- *Responsio ad Quaestionum Syllogem Guil. Apollonii, de controversis, circa politiam Ecclesiasticam, in Anglia agitatis*.¹⁰⁷

Henry Hammond, parish priest, defended the episcopal rights against the ideas of David Blondell, Salmasius and others in *Dissertationes quatuor*,¹⁰⁸ to which book is prefixed

- *Dissertatio de Anto-christo, de Mystério Iniquitatis, de Dietrophe & de Gnosticis*

They (the Gnostici) made their appearance at the time of the Apostles. Just now appeared

- *Epistola ad Lambertum Osbalstonum*¹⁰⁹ which contains an apology for Mr. John Williams, Archbishop of York.

We also have:

- *Articulorum Lambethanorum de Praedestinatione*¹¹⁰ by Mr. Whitaker, with additional chapters giving the history of Lambeth just as it was formulated and accepted by bishops and theologians. To which has been added:

- *De illis Judicium*, by Lancelot Andrewes, bishop of Winchester.

- *Censura censurae de Certitudine Salutis* by Mr. Barret, and the opinion about predestination by Mr. Overall, once Professor of Theology at Cambridge. Thomas Hayne (who also wrote *De linguarum cognitione*)¹¹¹ has demonstrated in his tract *Pax in Terris*,¹¹² what

used to be the arguments for unity and peace in the church and what should be its nature and the arguments for it nowadays. Joseph Hall's pamphlet *Pax Terris*¹¹³ is very similar. John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, has urged people to restore the fraternal community among the Evangelical Churches in *Duplici Commentatione*.¹¹⁴

About this peace, four treatises have been published together, three of them by bishops, the bishop of Durham, John of Salisbury, and Joseph of Exeter, i.e. Morton, Davenant and Hall;¹¹⁵ the fourth treatise was written by some distinguished theologians and ministers

of the Church in France. It took John Durie some years of hard work to translate these treatises.¹¹⁶ This Durie (who is well-known to you), wrote a *Peace-Maker*,¹¹⁷ dealing with the reformation of laymen and ministers in present-day England, and the settling of disputes among the churches, and a *Seasonable Discourse*¹¹⁸ about the basis and method of a reformation of religion as well as of education; also about the benefit of oriental languages, Jewish mysteries and universal wisdom. Finally he published this year *The Reformed School*¹¹⁹ and *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper*.¹²⁰

Here, in a certain chapel, not far from the old market and near the old French church, I saw the other day a rather old English translation of the paraphrases of the New Testament by Erasmus, published in London in 1548 by Edward Whitec[h]urch in the *Flete-street* (i.e. Prisonstreet).¹²¹ So much for the literary matters which you were eagerly looking forward to. But I will finally limit the length of my letter, or rather finish it, because I carried on too long and am in want of paper. Meanwhile good luck to you, my honourable friend, and I am sure, anyway that is what I hope, that your authority can persuade my dear parents to let me spend the winter at Oxford.

London, 7 August 1651, A.S.¹²²

ANDREAS ARNOLD IN ENGLAND

In May 1681, thirty years after his father's visit to England, Andreas Arnold left Holland and crossed the North Sea, thus embarking on the second stage of his Grand Tour. The trip to England was not the result of a sudden impulse but had been planned long before. Entries in Andreas's album amicorum, containing English phrases and completed before his departure from Nuremberg, are indications, and several people in Holland talk about Andreas's approaching visit overseas.¹ At Brielle he embarked on a packet-boat bound for England and on 22 May, Whit Monday, he arrived in London.

His father had visited England in 1651 when the country was still suffering from the aftermath of the Civil War. In the years of Andreas's visit, 1681-82, the monarchy had been restored for more than twenty years and Charles II's political skill had enabled him to survive many conflicts with the English Parliament and the Whig opposition. The most serious threat had undoubtedly been the one posed by the Popish Plot and the manoeuvres of the Whig leader, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and his protégé Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II and pretender to the succession. The three years immediately preceding Andreas's visit had been especially perilous for the throne. It was only a couple of months before, in March 1681, that, with the dismissal of the Oxford Parliament, the tide turned in favour of the King. Although politics (and also the religious situation) do not take up a very prominent place in Andreas's letters, there are occasional references to the political unrest which continued throughout 1681 and 1682.

As has been said before, Andreas Arnold kept an album like his father and with the help of this useful little book and a number of letters we can give the following survey of his period in England. After his arrival and a short stay in London, Andreas worked for most of the summer of 1681 in Oxford. In September and November he paid two visits to Cambridge and he was in London in October. Oxford received another visit in January 1682 and during the remaining ten months of his English period Andreas stayed either in London or at Windsor. In November 1682 Andreas left England for France.

Once in London the first man Andreas Arnold got in touch with was Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655-1712), a fellow countryman.² Ludolf had arrived in England in 1677 or 1678, having finished his studies at Jena a couple of years before, and he had got a post under the Danish envoy Christian von Lenthe, a friend of George of Denmark, who was to become Queen Anne's husband. On his recommendation, Ludolf became secretary to George of Denmark in 1686.

Andreas Arnold had already met Ludolf's uncle Hiob (1624-1704) a year before, in April 1680, during a stop at Frankfort on his way from Nuremberg to Holland and it seems likely that this was his introduction to Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf, especially since uncle and nephew were on very good terms. Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf was, like his uncle, acquainted with Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), a prominent Lutheran theologian and one of the leaders of the new pietist movement in the German Lutheran Church. Christoph Arnold kept up a regular correspondence with Spener, whom he often mentions in his letters to his son, and this is another indication that Andreas's calls on the Ludolfs were not a coincidence.

Ludolf signed Andreas's album on 12 June 1681. His is the only "London" signature during Andreas's first stay in London. Shortly afterwards Andreas left for Oxford. The first sign of his arrival there is his application for a "reader's ticket" for the Bodleian Library. The date of his admission is 27 June 1681.³ His visit to the library was recorded by Anthony Wood who gives the following account, which is not wholly correct:

This year [1681] was a sojourner in the University and a student in the public library one Andreas Arnold from Nuremberg, who published the Sermon of Athanasius to the Monks and other things; and afterwards became professor of divinity in the University of Altdorf; rector of a church in Nuremberg & c.⁴

Andreas spent the summer of 1681 in Oxford, working in the library, copying Greek manuscripts which he was to edit for his first major independent publication in Paris in 1685 and making the acquaintance of the scholars of Oxford, visiting the colleges as his father had done thirty years before. But Oxford in these summer months was not just a quiet seat of learning. Less than three months had elapsed since Charles II had convened Parliament at Oxford. The predominating question had been the problem of the succession to the throne. Streets and colleges had been filled with Members of Parliament and courtiers, soldiers and supporters of King or Parliament. The sudden end of the Oxford Parliament meant a turn in the political climate in favour of the King and the summer of 1681 saw the first victim at Oxford of the Tory reaction. Stephen College, a joiner, who had been active promoting the Whig cause during the days of the Oxford Parliament, was brought to trial on the accusation of treasonable conspiracy and seditious words and it was a sign of the change that he, in spite of scanty evidence, was found guilty and executed at Oxford on 31 August 1681.

It was in this atmosphere that Andreas Arnold studied in the Bodleian Library and collected autographs. The first man whose

signature he acquired was Edward Bernard (1638-1697), Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. This was on 1 July. It could be that his acquaintance with the Ludolfs provided the opening. Both of them were well acquainted with Bernard.⁵ Bernard was a distinguished scholar, not only in the field of astronomy and mathematics but also in that of classical and oriental learning and as such he is regularly referred to in Andreas's later correspondence. Bernard had been tutored by John Wallis (1616-1703), Professor of Geometry and a famous scientist and mathematician and it is not surprising that we also find Wallis's signature in Andreas's album (12 July). These contacts reflect one of Andreas's early interests: mathematics. His first publication, a public address, was *De Sacra Mathesi* (1676). On 14 July the name of a third Oxford professor is to be found in the album. It is that of Edward Pococke (1604-1691), the orientalist.

Besides this group of Oxford professors, Andreas met a number of other people. There is first of all the Lutheran divine Petrus Zitschler (1652-1697) (12 July 1681). He was of Danish origin but had also studied at German universities.⁶ When Andreas met him he was on a tour of Holland, England and France and he and Andreas were thus in similar circumstances. Zitschler put his international experience to good effect in his works on ecumenism.

On 18 July 1681 Isaac Abendana completes an entry. Abendana, a Jew, worked in the Bodleian Library and he had been admitted as early as 1676.⁷ He spent a long time at Oxford and published a series of almanacs.⁸ On the same date we find the name of a certain Moses Cartierus Rothomagensis, judging from his name a Jew from Rouen. His religion and the fact that he signed on the same day as Abendana suggest that he was in the company of the latter. Except for the entry in the list of foreign visitors to the Bodleian (Cartier had been admitted in 1675)⁹ we know little about him. There is a slight clue in the Bodleian entry. He is said to be Paul Bauldrey's amanuensis. Bauldrey, described by Wood as "a Frenchman of note" spent a couple of years at Oxford and went back to France in 1682 whence he travelled to Holland, where he eventually died in 1706.¹⁰ His amanuensis Moses Cartier seems to have been more than a casual acquaintance of Andreas. A year and a half later, in February 1683, Christoph Arnold asks in a letter to Andreas who this Cartier is.¹¹ Andreas's letter to which his father referred has not been preserved but he must have mentioned Cartier and perhaps saw more of him.

The last Oxford entry in the summer of 1681 is the one by Thomas Hyde (1636-1703), Bodley's librarian and a famous orientalist. His autograph is not a very surprising acquisition for someone working in the University library. The date of his entry is 19 July. There are not any entries from this date till the end of September but we may assume that Andreas stayed on in Oxford, working in the library.

It was of course to be expected that Cambridge, too, would receive a fair deal of Andreas's attention and in the autumn of 1681 he proceeded to England's other university. There is evidence of two

visits, one in September and one in November, interrupted by a stay in London.¹² Andreas worked, of course, in the library and, like his father, presented one of his works. It is a volume containing his public address *De Sacra Mathesi* (1676) and his disputation *De S. Petri Denario* (1679). It was given to the library in September 1681.¹³

The first visit to Cambridge produced at least two dated entries in Andreas's album, Joshua Barnes's on 23 September and Henry More's on 28 September; the second visit produced one, Isaac Newton's (6 November). There are two, possibly three, undated Cambridge entries which could belong to either of the two visits.

The autograph of Joshua Barnes (1654-1712), Greek scholar and antiquary, fellow of Emmanuel College, was Arnold's first acquisition. When he met Barnes the latter had already written a few things, some poetry and an account of an imaginary voyage *Gerania, the discovery of a little sort of people anciently discoursed of, called Pygmies* (1675), a work which may have given Swift some ideas for his *Gulliver's Travels*. Both Barnes's Greek scholarship and his ambitions in the field of poetry can be seen in his entry. It consists of three poems in praise of Arnold's proficiency as a linguist, one in Greek, one in Latin and one in English. The English poem runs as follows:

Nor in one tongue shall I great Arnold name;
Who speaks almost as many tongues as fame:
Greeke, Latine, English here to Thee I bring,
Now (may be) wilt thou slight the streine,¹⁴ I sing:
Others in other tongues thy Praise may tell;
But who can use a tongue, thou knowst not well?

A few days later, on 28 September, Henry More (1614-1687) writes in Arnold's album. He is mainly known as one of the group of Cambridge Platonists, Christian philosophers who combined a reaction against puritan dogmatism with philosophic idealism. The other important member of this group, Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), fellow of Emmanuel College, is also in Arnold's album. Although we have no definite evidence from his letters, it is fairly obvious that Andreas would have been attracted to the theological and philosophical position of men like More and Cudworth; the album entries of both men express a more than casual warmth of friendship and affection. The entry by Isaac Newton (1642-1727) can be explained by the fact that he was the leading scientist of the day, even though the first book of the *Principia* was not to be published till 1686. It is less easy to account for the signature of Richard Duke (1658-1711). Duke was, like Newton, a fellow of Trinity College and a very minor poet; Andreas may have happened to meet him at Trinity while on his visit to Newton.

During the remainder of his English period Arnold stayed either in London or at Windsor, except for a short stay at Oxford round Christmas 1681. His official address as given in his letters is "at

Mr. Hayes, a barber, over against Shoo-lane on Holborne". When in London Andreas seems quite often to have been in the company of Mr. and Mrs. Webster. Mordaunt Webster, a clergyman, who calls himself "theologiae studiosus and Eccl. Angl. Presbyter"¹⁵ was well-known to Christoph Arnold who often refers to Webster in his letters to his son. After Andreas's stay in England Christoph Arnold was so grateful for the hospitality shown to his son that he sent some presents to the Websters. Webster was on good terms with Peter Gunning, the bishop of Ely, to whom we will refer later.

The other place where Andreas was a frequent visitor was Isaac Vossius's residence at Windsor. Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), the son of the famous scholar Gerhard John Vossius, and a scholar of note himself, must have been an attractive acquaintance for Andreas Arnold. Vossius had settled in England after an interesting career which included a period in the service of Queen Christina of Sweden. He knew many people in the world of learning, which was of course extremely useful for a young scholar like Andreas, who was eager to acquire new contacts. Moreover, Vossius possessed a very good library which was considered by Anthony Wood to be the finest private library in the world. In 1673 Charles II had appointed him canon at Windsor in spite of his reputed scepticism regarding religion, although he was rather credulous in other fields. Charles II said of him that he would believe anything if only it were not to be found in the Bible.¹⁶

In the summer of 1682 his father's letters provide strong evidence for Andreas's frequent visits to Windsor¹⁷ and in a letter to Constantijn Huygens of September 1682¹⁸ Andreas Arnold declares that he spends nearly all his time in Vossius's company. These visits were not just social affairs. Vossius's library included a great many manuscripts and one of these, a letter of Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria,¹⁹ was selected by Andreas to be studied in detail. Together with some Bodleian manuscripts he edited this letter for publication in Paris in 1685.

When he went to France, Andreas kept in touch with Vossius. He wrote him a number of letters in which he shows himself very grateful for introductions to French scholars (he mentions Menagius and Thevenot).²⁰ In one of the letters he acts as an intermediary for Ismael Boulliau²¹ who through him asks Vossius some questions and Andreas also explains why he has not been able to get hold of a copy of Rauwulf's *Itinerarium*,²² a work which Vossius would very much like to have.

Andreas Arnold was not the only guest at Windsor. Among the people who frequented Vossius's house and often stayed there were Adrianus Beverland (1654-1712) and Paul Colomiès or Colomesius (1638-1692). Beverland, who became a good friend of Arnold, was someone with a doubtful reputation,²³ who had already been sent down from Leyden and Utrecht. Wood says of him:

One Hadrian Beverland, who entitles himself Dominus Zelandiae, became a sojourner in Oxon this year [1673] for the sake of the public library. He was afterwards doctor of the law and a publisher of prohibited, obscene and profane books "for which he is said to have been banished his country".²⁴

Andreas also kept up a correspondence with Beverland after he had taken up his temporary residence in France,²⁵ and here too, we find Menagius and Thevenot as common acquaintances.

Colomesius was the other close companion at Windsor. He was an old friend of Vossius's. They had met in Paris in 1664 and in 1681 Colomesius was invited over to England by Vossius. He stayed in England for the rest of his life.²⁶ That he was perfectly at home in his host's library is shown by the fact that he was the one who drew up the catalogue of the manuscripts of Vossius.²⁷

It was in this company that Andreas Arnold spent most of his time at Windsor, not always to the satisfaction of his father who afterwards had his suspicions about the amount of work done during this period:

Wann du in Engell[and] welches wol hette seijn können, mehr an deinem buch hettest gearbeitet, nur zum wenigsten mit vertirn, bei Vossio, so könntestu je leichters zu recht kommen mit weit geringerer Mühe.²⁸

Christoph Arnold at least got the impression that his son had quite a good time in England and did not work too hard. It is a fact that Andreas put off his departure for France several times until he eventually left England with much reluctance.

It is striking to see how many Germans or people with German backgrounds figure in Andreas's album once he is abroad. This is the case not only in Holland and France but also in England. Perhaps the most prominent among them is Theodore Haak (1605-1690) who is frequently mentioned in Christoph's letters to his son. He was one of Christoph's correspondents and as such must have been easily accessible for Andreas. Theodore Haak, who lived in England for most of his life, is famous for two things: his involvement in the foundation of the Royal Society and his work as a translator. His most famous attempt in the latter field is a German translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, of which he completed about half. Haak was a great patron of German visitors. Many of them came to him for assistance and introductions and he was always willing to help.²⁹ Haak was in touch with quite a few people from Nuremberg and it is therefore not surprising that he became one of Andreas's main contacts in London. Although Haak's signature was acquired only on 2 October 1682, shortly before Andreas left England, it is obvious

that Andreas had met him long before and saw a great deal of him.

Andreas had written to Haak as early as 13 December 1680.³⁰ It was a letter from Leyden where Andreas stayed at the time and since it contained a number of interesting remarks relating to science it was read out at a meeting of the Royal Society. It was not the only paper communicated to the Society by Andreas. On several occasions during the years 1680-1685 letters and papers were presented to the Royal Society by Andreas usually through Theodore Haak or Robert Hooke.³¹ A letter sent to Haak (Paris, 6 April 1683)³² gives an account of an experiment:

My Father charged me to acquaint you with this odd experiment; that a certain Neighbour of his (at Nurnborg) being presented of late with some Bohemian Champinions, three of them, in the dressing, did seem quite petrified, but being broken, tho the inward parts still resembled that fruit, yet all proved metallic and most of it yielded in the tryal, the one Drachma semis & grana, the other nine Grana and the third twelve Grana, Fine Silver: which (saith he) much confirms, what Balbinus reports in his Miscellaneous History of Bohemia of some other plants among which in the same shape and parts, gold and silver grew up. This experiment likewise much corroborates that opinion of the illustrious Boyle de suo Metallico.

This "experiment" found its origin in the kitchen of the Arnolds where Andreas's mother had discovered the silver grains when she was about to cook some Bohemian mushrooms. The incident was reported in one of Christoph's letters and Andreas turned it into an experiment.³³ Andreas's manifold contacts with members of the Royal Society, and perhaps also his own scientific activities (he was for instance in the possession of two microscopes)³⁴ resulted in a proposal by Haak at one of the Society's meetings to admit Andreas as a fellow.³⁵ But Andreas never became an official member, perhaps because he did not pay the official entrance fee, although his father was willing to send extra money for that purpose:

Meine Meinung war eben auch, du soltest Geld pro Socio Reg. bezahlen u[nd] recht protocollirt werden; welches ich annoch durch Mr. Merry bezahlen lassen wolte; wann nur die Angli, in solito more, die Teutschen nicht allerdings austreiben.³⁶

Another German among Andreas's friends and also a fellow of the Royal Society was Dethler Cluverus (c.1650-1708), a mathematician. Cluverus was one of his more intimate acquaintances and he calls

Andreas his very good friend.³⁷ His autograph is part of the final collection of entries in October 1682. Cluverus had only come to England a few years before, in 1676, but he had very soon acquired a considerable reputation and he became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1678.

Perhaps it was through Haak that Andreas met Anthony Horneck (1641-1697), yet another German fully integrated in English life. At least at the very end of his life Haak was acquainted with Horneck: Horneck preached Haak's funeral sermon. Horneck, whose autograph is dated 18 October 1681, was a divine of German origin who had come to England in 1661, studied at Oxford and very soon received several livings. He became so popular and famous as a preacher that people from all over London flocked to hear his sermons. It was perhaps this fact that made Christoph ask if it was really impossible that Andreas, just for once, could preach in English in London.³⁸

Finally a fourth German name appears in the pages of the album. It is Gerhard Martens who styles himself a Lutheran divine. The date of the entry is 10 October 1682, the place is London.

January 1681 was spent in Oxford. We find five names: William Crabb, an Oxford divine, Simon Johann Arnoldi, a Pole, Daniel Jablonski, a divine from Danzig and interested in ecumenism, John Fell, bishop of Oxford and finally Thomas Smith, later to become librarian of the Cottonian Library.

Not much is known about William Crabb, a fellow of Exeter College, who dates his autograph 9 January 1682. The only reference to him is to be found in Forster and he is not mentioned in Andreas's correspondence. In his entry he says that Andreas is about to depart for France but that was not to happen for another ten months.

On 11 January 1682 we come across the name of Simon Johann Arnoldi, who describes himself as a Pole. It is again difficult to place him. His name is not to be found in the relevant biographical dictionaries.³⁹ It seems however likely that he was in the company of Daniel Jablonski (1660-1714). Jablonski, born in Danzig, had just finished his studies at Frankfort and he was on a three-year tour to Holland and England, spending most of his time at Oxford.⁴⁰ Strong evidence for the fact that Arnoldi and Jablonski were travelling together is the fact that these two men of Polish origin were admitted to the Bodleian on the same day and that also their entries in Andreas's album show the same date.⁴¹ Jablonski describes the meeting with Andreas as short but pleasant.

The last two Oxford entries are perhaps more important. There is first of all John Fell (1625-1685), bishop of Oxford and an influential man in the university. He was canon of Christ Church and for some time vice-chancellor. It is not unlikely that through him Andreas Arnold was introduced to Thomas Smith, fellow of Magdalen College and in 1682 elected vice-president of the college.⁴² John Fell's autograph is dated 13 January 1682 and the next day it is

Thomas Smith who obliges Andreas. A couple of weeks later, in February, when Andreas had returned to London, he writes to Smith⁴³ and after a profession of friendship the real reason for his writing the letter becomes obvious when he asks Smith to answer a series of questions: What is the name of the Westminster librarian? What are the chief ornaments of the library and (this seems to be the crucial question) may he have Smith's introduction to the librarian? This last question tells us something about Andreas's wish to visit new libraries and about the way he tried to get introduced. We can safely assume that he applied this method more often. In the rest of the letter he asks Smith what the English think of Hornius and his work on the sects. Andreas refers here to a work already noticed by his father, *De Statu Ecclesiae Britannicae* (1647) by the Dutch scholar Georgius Hornius.⁴⁴ According to Andreas the work is much valued on the Continent and he is curious to know its reputation in England. Andreas ends his letter by asking Smith to give his best wishes to Dr. Bernard and to the bishop. The latter must be John Fell. Half a year later, in September 1682, Andreas sends another letter to Smith⁴⁵ but this letter does not contain very much in the way of news and is more a letter of farewell and thanks.

Two entries bearing neither date nor place still ought to be mentioned. The first one is William Seaman's. It is probably the Seaman who was rector of Upton-Scudamore in Wiltshire. He was an orientalist and this appears from his entry.⁴⁶ The second entry without date or place is Peter Gunning's. Gunning (1614-1684) was bishop of Ely and had many connections with Cambridge where he held several important posts. It seems therefore likely that Andreas met him on one of his visits to Cambridge, although it is not quite impossible that he saw him in London at Mordaunt Webster's. Webster and Gunning were on good terms, that is at least the conclusion one can draw from Christoph's letters to his son. The two are frequently mentioned together and Christoph sends books and letters to Peter Gunning (whom he always calls Bishop of Ely) via Mordaunt Webster.

Christoph Arnold's correspondence has been mentioned several times so far and it seems useful to say something more about these letters at this stage. During the whole of Andreas's tour father and son kept up a regular correspondence. Christoph wrote between two and four times a month and his son replied regularly, if perhaps not at the same rate. More than forty of Christoph's letters, dating from the summer of 1682 till the spring of 1685, have been preserved, but none of Andreas's letters. The result is of course that we get only one side of the picture and that we often have to guess what is meant. The correspondence is nevertheless very informative albeit sometimes in an indirect way.

The letters contain several elements which constantly recur. Questions of what one could call a "touristic" kind occur frequently. When does the Stourbridge Fair take place? Have you seen the East

and West India Houses? Are there still Jews in London and do they still have their synagogue as in Cromwell's days? What kind of school is there at Eton? Most of Christoph Arnold's questions and remarks, however, concern books and authors. Many questions are asked concerning the availability, the price or the quality of certain works and editions and very often directions are given as to the purchase of books, not only for Christoph Arnold himself but also for a considerable number of friends at Nuremberg. Chapter IV will deal with this matter in greater detail.

Information (and gossip) about Nuremberg people and Nuremberg events takes up an important part of the letters. Many of the facts referred to are in themselves not very important or revealing but taken together they form an interesting picture of the relations among and the life of a certain section of the Nuremberg community.

Two people figure most prominently in these letters and the account of their relations with the Arnolds gives a fascinating insight in the daily lives of the people involved. The two men are Conrad Feuerlein (1629-1704) clergyman and colleague of Christoph Arnold (he was till 1683 Preacher of the Marienkirche and from 1683 of St. Sebald's) and his son Johann Conrad Feuerlein (1656-1718). The name Feuerlein, however, never occurs in Christoph's correspondence. The Arnolds refer to the Feuerleins as young and old Pyraeolus, a Greek adaptation of the name.

Johann Conrad Feuerlein, the son, was born in the same year as Andreas Arnold and they went together to grammar-school and university. Johann Conrad went on his Grand Tour somewhat later than Andreas Arnold, in 1681, spending most of his time in England after a short visit to Leyden. In spite of the common elements in the lives of the two young men their relations seem to have been somewhat strained and this was certainly the case with their fathers. Christoph Arnold's letters contain many sarcastic remarks, sometimes mixed with an element of jealousy, concerning father and son Feuerlein. The fact that the two young men were both on their Grand Tour, visiting the same country, England, provides of course ample opportunity for comparison.

In June 1682 Arnold writes to his son⁴⁷ that Feuerlein received a letter from his son which he read out saying how much praise Andreas received in England and how splendidly Andreas travelled across the country. After this, Arnold immediately adds sarcastically that young Feuerlein probably only wrote this after he had discovered that he himself could not manage to get introduced to prominent people by his usual tricks. Soon afterwards the relation between the two young travellers appeared to have deteriorated considerably. In a letter of July 1682 Christoph Arnold writes:

Ich gedachte, weil du die Briefadresse wegen
H. Haak geändert, du wirst ja nicht etwan, wegen
des Pyraeoli [J.C. Feuerlein], mit ihm zerfallen

seijn, und ihm die Briefe nicht länger vertrauen
wollen.⁴⁸

This is an interesting remark showing Christoph's fear that his son has perhaps quarrelled with Theodore Haak because of Feuerlein and also suggesting that Andreas's postal address was in fact Haak's address. It is another indication of Haak's important role in the reception of German visitors. A circumstance that causes a mixture of sarcasm and hardly suppressed jealousy is the offer made to young Feuerlein to become organist (professor, Christoph calls it) at Oxford Cathedral and the Sheldonian Theatre:⁴⁹

Du must ihn aber recht respectirn, denn er
schreibt, wie sein Va[ter] überall ausbreitet,
Prof. Bernhard hab ihm selbst die Professionem
musicæ zu Oxf[ord] angetragen, und stehe nur
noch an dem, das B[isho]p Fell ja darzu sage,
als der solche stell ein anderen versprochen,
aber nicht gewiss wisse, ob er noch kommen
werde. Also hastu hinfüro seiner Genade oder
Recommendation höchst von nöthen. Ich gab zur
Antwort, so viel ich vernommen, so were ein
krummhextigter Pedell allda gestorben, der
zugleich Vorsinger gewest.⁵⁰

And after a few jokes about the vanity of old Feuerlein he advises Andreas to depart from London silently and without informing young Feuerlein (the reason for this secrecy is not clear):

Reistu von London, so halt es still, nimm nicht
von ihm Abschied; schreibt er dir nach Paris,
so antworte ihm entweder nicht, oder schicke
ihm seinen Brief, in einem leinen Couvert wieder
zurück. Ich hoffe aber, den Winter über soll
die Steinkohle beij ihm noch ihre guten Effect
haben.⁵¹

And reverting to the job offered to young Feuerlein at Oxford:

Das beste hett'ich fast vergessen, dem Pyraeolo
[Feuerlein] bietet man zu Oxford 300lb Besoldung
an; dergleiches Glück dir beij so langer Zeit
nicht aufgesess. [...] Das allerbeste were,
der Bp. of Ely [Peter Gunning] gebe dir freijes
Winterquartir, so er gar leicht thun könnte; ich
begehre keine 300lb oder 1500Rth darzu.⁵²

The remark about the bishop of Ely will be explained later in this chapter but it is obvious that Johann Conrad Feuerlein's success is a thorn in Christoph's side. Feuerlein, however, could not accept the job in the end due to ill health.⁵³ He had to return to

Nuremberg where he arrived early in January 1683. It provides the opportunity for Christoph Arnold to express some critical remarks about Feuerlein's pronunciation of English (implying of course that his own is much better) and he gives an example of Feuerlein's terrible English accent: the word "church" is pronounced like the German "Schurtz":⁵⁴ He has also heard some more news about the exploits of Johann Conrad Feuerlein and it is not without some malicious pleasure that he records the following story about the young traveller:

Wie derselbe in Engell[and] sich beiß einem
Bischof anmelden lassen, de religione mit ihm
zu disputirn; hette ihm aber nur einen diener
herausgeschickt, mit dem er sich gleich wol
duellirn sollte.⁵⁵

This is an interesting example of the little set-backs an enterprising young man could meet with on his Grand Tour. Once home Feuerlein became a clergyman like his father and many other members of his family, and Christoph Arnold was of course present when young Feuerlein preached his first sermon:

Der junge Pyr. [Feuerlein] hatte bey seiner
Anstandspred. 2 Ringe an, die sehr gefunkelt
(sonst trägt er alle Tage 4), wesswegen ihn
der Povel abscheulich gelästert, sagend, warum
er nicht auch die Armbänder angelegt, so er
vielleicht vergessen.⁵⁶

The story of Johann Conrad Feuerlein is a good example of the kind of interest shown in Christoph Arnold's letters to his son and it also throws an interesting light on young Germans on their tour abroad: it is a useful corrective to the kind of high-flown information we normally find in the old German biographical dictionaries and "Gelehrtenlexica".

In the letters a number of people in England recur frequently. We very often find the names of Mordaunt Webster, Theodore Haak, Elias Ashmole and Peter Gunning. The tone and way in which Christoph speaks about these people suggest a degree of intimacy which cannot stem from a mere mentioning by his son in his letters. He either must have corresponded with them before or met them in person.

Mordaunt Webster and his wife signed the album very late, not long before Andreas left England (10 and 21 October respectively) but they are mentioned and referred to much earlier. To show his gratitude Christoph Arnold decided to send them a present and in a number of letters a discussion is conducted about the "Webster present".⁵⁷ Having discarded a few other possibilities he eventually decided to send *Tela Satanae*, a work by Wagenseil, to Mr. Webster and for Mrs. Webster he fixed upon a little box containing twelve

almond cakes and some glassware.

The "bishop of Ely" (Arnold never talks of Peter Gunning) is an even more interesting name figuring in the letters. Andreas Arnold seems to be on familiar terms with the bishop. At a certain moment it looks as if there is a possibility for Andreas to enter the service of the bishop. At first his father does not take it very seriously and he can still laugh about the whole idea:

Ungefehr las ich im Common-Prayerbook die
Confirmation, da lacht'ich darob, dz dich my
Lord Bp. of Ely zum Bar-mizvon⁵⁸ machen
wolle.⁵⁹

And in the already quoted remark about young Feuerlein's job at Oxford, he makes another joke about this idea:

Das allerbeste were, der Bp. of Ely gebe dir
freijs Winterquartir, so er gar leicht thun
könte; ich begehre keine 300lb oder 1500
Rth darzu.

But things are different when Andreas's plans turn out to be serious and he wants to spend another winter in England.⁶⁰ Since we do not have Andreas's letter it is difficult to discover what his exact plans are. There seem to be two elements. First of all there is a plan to stay the winter with Vossius, and Christoph agrees provided Vossius will give board and lodging, since he himself cannot afford this. A second element of Andreas's plan is that he will enter the service of Peter Gunning. The exact nature of this service is not clear, however. Does it for instance mean that he wants to become an Anglican clergyman? Whatever the exact implication may be, this part of the scheme rouses Christoph's anger: "You cannot stay in England forever and you certainly cannot return to that country". An outburst of indignation follows, full of anti-English sentiments, to the effect that Andreas is about to betray his father, his religion and his country. "You cannot trust the promises the English make", Christoph says, "I was promised the chair of oriental languages at Oxford (it was Whelock who promised me that), but of course nothing came of it". This last argument seems highly unlikely and is only produced here for rhetorical purposes. Christoph Arnold was not an orientalist and Whelock, being a Cambridge man, was hardly in the position to dispose of Oxford professorships.

Anyway, whether it was due to father Arnold's outburst or for other reasons, soon afterwards, probably in November 1682, Andreas left England for France. After this incident Christoph Arnold very soon forgot everything he had said about the bishop of Ely and he is again proud of this relation. Through Webster he sends letters and a present, a work by Johann Conrad Dürrius,⁶¹ to him.

The other two people mentioned, Theodore Haak and Elias Ashmole,⁶² are also correspondents and quite often letters and books are

exchanged. In November 1684 Christoph Arnold writes to his son after an unusually long period in which he did not receive any post from England:

Ist dann Bf. of Ely gestorben, dz du ihn in
proximis tuis den Seel. Herrn genennet.
[Peter Gunning died on 6 July 1684.] Nihil
hactenus ea de re accepi. Wann wird uns dann
Haakius antworten von dem, was Mr. Imhof und
ich an ihn und Mr. Ashmol gesandt? Websterius
schweigt auch still, und spricht: Gute Nacht
Engelland!⁶³

In January, at last, a letter from Ashmole arrives and he quotes from this letter:

He [Mr. Haak] and I remember you often, nor do
we forget your good son, whose conversation was
greatly pleasing to me, when he was in London.⁶⁴

Ashmole did not write an entry in Andreas Arnold's album, nor for that matter do we find the names of Vossius, Colomesius and Beverland. Yet Andreas certainly saw a great deal of these people and this is another indication that the names in the album by no means include all the names of his circle of friends and acquaintances in England.

In the Arnold correspondence politics does not take up a very prominent place. Now and then a casual remark, usually referring to the Popish Plot and its aftermath, draws the attention. In his letter to Constantijn Huygens of September 1682,⁶⁵ shortly before he left for France, Andreas remarks: "England seems to be more and more intent on revolution and we leave it behind full of madly raving people". It was the period when Charles II tried to re-establish the power of the Crown in the big towns, especially in London. With the help of fraud and violence two Tory sheriffs were elected in London. Monmouth, Shaftesbury and a few others discussed possibilities for a general insurrection in secret meetings. In September 1682, the time of this letter, Monmouth made a second Western Tour and this whole situation resulted in an impression of violence and madness in the eyes of Andreas Arnold.

By November 1683 it has also dawned upon Christoph that something is the matter in England. He has heard some rumours from Mr. Merry, an English merchant working in Nuremberg and very often employed by him. He wants to receive more details from Andreas who is in Paris:

Mr. Merry spricht, man halte für gewiss, das
Monmouth noch in London, aber wo ist nun der
Oate?⁶⁶

In a letter to Beverland,⁶⁷ who is still with Vossius, of August

1683, Andreas writes:

Il y un Mr. Hamton,⁶⁸ Anglois, qui par ordre du Roy d'Angleterre, est icy arrêté dans la Bastille. On a dit, que Mylord Gray⁶⁹ etoit attrapé à Breda, mais, ca ne confirme pas.

In February 1685 the death of Charles II is noticed,⁷⁰ but not so much because of its political implications as for the change it means to the dedication to the new work Andreas Arnold is writing. He will have to substitute the new King's name, James II, for the old one.

Andreas Arnold, with his newly established English contacts, is for his father a valuable source of information about England. Whenever Christoph wants to know something about England or about a particular Englishman, he asks his son. Theology, as could be expected, is Christoph's special interest and we come across requests for information on topics ranging from the occurrence of exorcism to the latest vogue for Latitudinarianism ("so alles untersuchen und erwegen"). Christoph adds to this last question that if Andreas does not know anything about the latitudinarians, he should make inquiries among his English friends. And many times Christoph asks his son if he can find out whether the letters and books he sent to England have arrived.

From England Andreas sent home several parcels containing books and excerpts of manuscripts but also things like flower seeds which after a time turned the garden of the Arnolds in Nuremberg into an English country garden.⁷¹ On his departure from England he sent home a box containing books and personal possessions. The aforementioned Mr. Merry organised the transport but not very successfully. It took about a year before the box finally arrived and the fate of the "cistula anglicana" is a popular topic in the letters. There are fears of a shipwreck and at a certain stage the box got stuck at Bremen. After the box had arrived Christoph Arnold sent a list of its contents to his son, perhaps to check if nothing had disappeared.⁷² The list opens with a great number of books bought in England which are sometimes provided with brief comments by Christoph Arnold. The list does not confine itself to scholarly works. It also contains items like "englisches Flötenbuchlein" and "Geigenbuchlein". Further a great many excerpts, catalogues and letters which Andreas must sort out for himself. Finally a number of personal items like spoons, knives, a Dutch valise, a warming-stone and a few other things.

Directions, exhortations and remarks concerning Andreas's work and travelling form an important aspect of the letters. We saw an example in Christoph's urgent request to Andreas to proceed to France. In the course of the next year, 1683, Christoph's requests to Andreas to come home become more and more frequent. He cannot understand what makes his son stay for such a long time in Paris and

he does not seem to believe Andreas's explanation that editing the manuscripts he has copied in England and preparing them for the press takes much longer than he had expected. Christoph Arnold accuses his son of finding new excuses all the time. When Andreas says that there is a delay in the negotiations with the printer, a certain Monsieur Le Cointre, because the latter has lost a relative, his father's reaction is:

Wiewol ich mein mit höchster Betrübthnuss den
neuen Frantzös[ischen] Ausflucht, oder viel
mehr Betrug (dan Mr. Le Cointre wird doch,
mit jenem Todesfall zu negotirn nicht aufhören).⁷³

Christoph is constantly designing new plans for his son's return and when they all fall through, he threatens Andreas with cutting short the money supply. He even applies what can only be called emotional blackmail, making use of his bad health:

denn lieber, warum siztú doch so lang zu Paris,
und thust nichts? Im Herbst kanstu nicht, im
Früling magstu nicht, jetzt ists dir auch nicht
gelegen [...] Nichts für meine grosse Unkosten
zu haben, und nur zu meinem Verderben in Paris
langer zu hocken, kränket mich zu Tod[...] Du
kanst mich gesund machen, und tödten. Erwehl
nur selbst, welches du willst, und du dir am
besten zu verantworten getrauest.⁷⁴

And Christoph adds that Andreas should have worked harder in England instead of wasting his time with Vossius. In the next letter⁷⁵ we find a continuation of this line of argument. He asks Andreas not to stay the summer in France if he does not want to lose his father, and appends a long account of his illness and a dramatic announcement of his approaching death, stating that Andreas had better come home to conduct his old father to the grave. He even warns Andreas against too much study: "Man hat endlich nichts als ein krankes Leib und betrübelten Geist davon". The reason for Christoph Arnold's pessimistic mood lies partly in his physical condition and partly in the plans of Andreas to go to Italy. Six months later, when Andreas has given up his Italian plans and has nearly finished his work, his father is more optimistic and he even starts to worry about details again. The thing that worries him most of all is the question to whom his son's work should be dedicated, but when he eventually, early in 1685, sees the draft of the dedication he is quite pleased and calls it rather good.⁷⁶ In the spring of 1685 Andreas returned home. His father's complaints about his health and his frequent and urgent requests to his son to return home as quickly as possible were not completely ill-founded for as we know Christoph Arnold died on 30 June 1685 soon after his son's return.

Something remains to be said about Andreas Arnold's main work, an edition of a number of Greek letters dating from the early period of the Christian era, of which the most important is a letter of Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, to the monks.⁷⁷ The foundation of this work was laid in England. The letter of Athanasius to the monks was among the collection of manuscripts of Isaac Vossius, and Andreas copied and studied the letter at Windsor in Vossius's library. In the catalogue of manuscripts of Vossius we find the following official description: "Athanasii syntagma διδασκαλικόν ad Monachos, laicos et omnes Christianos".⁷⁸ Following Athanasius's letter we find three other letters which Andreas found among the Barocci manuscripts in the Bodleian, one tract by Theodorus Abucara⁷⁹ entitled "Theodori Abucaræ tractatus de unione et incarnatione" and two letters by the emperors Marcian and Valentinian to Pope Leo the Great.⁸⁰

Andreas Arnold collected his material in England and had it printed in Paris. Printing took more than two years and Andreas blames the French printers ("very lazy") and the censor ("who needs about a year") for it.⁸¹ Andreas Arnold dedicated his work to Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury and this seems to confirm the information that Arnold called on Sancroft.⁸² In the dedication itself, Andreas thanks Sancroft for his help with the Athanasius manuscript, though the nature of the help is not specified. As Primate of England, Sancroft would of course have been an obvious dedicatee.

After his return to Nuremberg and the death of his father Andreas Arnold took over his father's duties, which did not leave him much time for anything else. There were no further publications of any importance. In Andreas's correspondence few letters have been preserved from the period after 1685 and they mainly consist of letters condoling with him on the loss of his father.⁸³ The only signs of a continuation of his contacts with English people are the two entries by Englishmen in his album in 1689. There is first of all St. George Ashe (1658-1718), an Irish bishop, known for his friendship with Swift (his pupil at Trinity College, Dublin), who had become chaplain to Lord Paget, the ambassador of William III to Vienna in 1688. During his stay at Vienna Ashe visited Nuremberg and met Andreas Arnold and we find an entry with his autograph in Arnold's album, dated 6 November 1689. In the Bodleian Library there is a letter by St. George Ashe to H. Dodwell confirming this visit:

... I have the good fortune since I came to this country to get the acquaintance and correspondence of many famous men, Jobus Ludolfus, Sturmius, Arnoldus, Imhoff, Spizelius & others do frequently write to me & are very communicative, I have had free admittance also into the publick library's of Nuremberg...⁸⁴

St. George Ashe was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a fact mentioned

in his entry, and this may have been the reason for his visit to Andreas. With St. George Ashe was a certain Samuel Edwin. This companion of Ashe, who signed Arnold's album on the same date, was probably a young man, the son of Sir Humphrey Edwin, a prominent merchant and administrator who was for some time Lord Mayor of London (1697-1698). His son Samuel was born in 1671 and married in 1697 Lady Catherine Montagu, daughter of the Earl of Manchester.⁸⁵

St. George Ashe's and Samuel Edwin's autographs are the last entries in Andreas Arnold's album and the last pieces of evidence showing Arnold's contacts with England and Englishmen. It seems therefore fit to conclude this chapter at this particular point in Andreas Arnold's life.

A LIST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE "CISTULA ANGLICANA" ¹

Contenta cistulae Anglicanae

Castelli Lexicon Polygl.² 2. Theil, fol. davon der erste Theil unten an der Spitzen gegen dem Bund, oder Rücken etwas benetzt; aber, ohne Schaden, salvirt.

Leslaei libb. X. rerum Scoticarum 4⁰. liber gratissimus.³

Grovii Responsio ad Celeusma etc. 4⁰.⁴

Halleji Catalogus Stellarum Australium. 4⁰.⁵

Catalogus auctionum Buttoni, Oweni, et Hoëli. 4⁰.⁶

Bibliothecae Smithianae Catalogus. 4⁰.⁷

V. Sermons, of Richard Wroe, Anth. Horneck, Ed. Stillingfleet, Will. Battie, & Will. Bp. of S. Asaph. of the Conversion of Eve Cohan etc.⁸

Anonymi Sacrosancta Regum majestas, Angl. 8⁰.⁹ BIS, warum zweijmal? Denn est ist eine liederliche ma[ter]ia Anglorum, wider de Episcopis, Decimis, ecc.¹⁰

Rob. Sanderson Nine Cases of Consc. 8⁰.¹¹

John Wilkins Sermons, 8⁰.¹²

Cottoni posthuma. 8⁰.¹³ sind recht gute Händel, ist aber sein Leben nicht, welches ich verlangt in 12⁰. Vielleicht bekomme ich es hie noch!

R.B. Monastichon Britannicum, 8⁰.¹⁴ Angl. liber optimus.

Truth vindicated of Rob. Clayton, Georg Treby etc. 8⁰.¹⁵

Englisches Flötenbüchlein --- Ablanges Geigenbüchlein, wenig Stuck.¹⁶

Hrn Sturmii tabl. Astronomicae. fol.¹⁷ --Ejusdem Architectonicae¹⁸

Reinharti Synopsis,¹⁹ et Dürrii theol. Mor. 8⁰.²⁰

Mein Griechisches Testam. so ich in Engelland einst glossirt.²¹

Dein Beichtbüchlein, Dilh. Weg zur Seel. 24⁰.²²

Terentius Farnabii,²³ den du billich immer hettest mitführen sollen! 12⁰

Bentivoglio Lettere. 12.²⁴

Den Englischen School-meester etc. 12⁰.²⁵

Theatri Oxon. 2. erlei Theses, auf Patent.²⁶ 2. Catalogi plantarum c[irca] Cantabr. et Ang.²⁷

Der Moscovitische Legatus, sonst kein ander Conterf.²⁸

Deine MSS. theils verpöschert,²⁹ insonderheit: Ἀλβῖνος περὶ τῆς ταξῆως Εὐνομίου ἀπολογητικός.³⁰ Βίος ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου. aber nicht gantz, denn du hast unten mit dem custode, καὶ ἡχηλάτωσαν, aufgehört.³¹ Zonarae epistola è MS. Vossiano.³² Excerpta ex libb. linteis Pontani.³³ Ferner alles dasjenige, was zu deinem Denario P. gehört:³⁴ zugeschwiegen allerhand excerptorum, catalogorum, epistolarum, die ich erst selbst ordinirn muss, dieweil du es, more solito, nicht gethan. NB. thu es zu Paris besser, und lass nichts HINTER DIR, WAS DEIN ist!

NB Allein dasjenige MS. rarissimum, Graecum, so du beiß Vossio ab-
geschrieben in cal[us]a Arianorum, findet sich dabeiß nicht? Vielleicht
hastu es mit nach Paris genommen?
quaeso responde ad hanc questionem; id n. ANXIE desidero.

der Bagage so viel: dein holl. Reissack, eine NB. zerrissene Flor-
kappe, vielleicht für deine Freule Schwester?

dein, im Futter, silberne Löffel.

dein Kamm: dein eisernes Federmesserlein.

das sehr dünnes. Engl. Messer, so ich, ad interim, zu den
meinen gelegt.

Noch 2. Messerklingen, so ich wegen des Rosts, reinigen müssen.

Ein eisernes Taschenmesser, mit einem läppischen Reimen.

2. besondere Kerne, die du einst selbst stecken magst.³⁵

Ein Wetz-stein (oder Warmingstone) vielleicht als etwas rares?
oder das Schiff- und Fuhrgewicht mit auszugleichen?

Die MSS. und Bagage wirstu meistentheils, in deinem
Behalter, sehr ordentlich finden.

THE BIBLIOTHECA ARNOLDIANA

Books played an essential part in the lives of Christoph and Andreas Arnold. In practically every surviving letter of their correspondence the major topics are old and new scholarly publications, special editions and rare books, and the chances of inspecting and acquiring them. Studying the correspondence of the Arnolds we get a fairly accurate idea of the kind of books that attracted their attention. Yet, on the basis of the Arnold correspondence alone it would have been difficult to arrive at a complete picture of the range of interests of Christoph and Andreas, if only because of the great gaps in the series of letters.

Fortunately, there is another source. This is a sale catalogue of the library of the Arnolds, the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*,¹ published in two parts in 1725. The catalogue enables us to reconstruct the library and forms a very important addition to our knowledge of the scholarly interests of the Arnolds, and, to a certain extent, of the Nuremberg men of learning in general. In this study we will naturally concentrate on those books in the library which are in some way or other related to England or to English authors, of course against the background of the library as a whole. An attempt will be made to find out more about the way in which the books were acquired, the importance of personal contacts in this respect, and the role of professional booksellers.

The *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* was published in 1725, more than thirty years after the death of Andreas Arnold in 1694. The latter, the only surviving son of Christoph Arnold, died without issue after a marriage that lasted only two years. His widow, whose maiden-name was Ester Helena Vierer, inherited the library. Four years later, on 28 November 1698, she married again.² Her new husband was the jurist Johann Christian Meis or Meisius (c.1660?-1726), who was born in Marsfeld near Henneberg. He studied at Leipzig, came to Nuremberg and lived there for some time. In 1693 he returned to Leipzig, where he received the degree of doctor of law and eventually became a professor.³ During his period at Nuremberg, at a time when Andreas Arnold was still alive, he must have met the Arnold couple. After his marriage to Ester Helena, Andreas's widow, the problem arose as to their future place of residence: Meisius had his work in Leipzig and his wife did not want to leave Nuremberg. This difficulty was solved by their decision to continue to live separately except for an annual visit to Nuremberg by Meisius.⁴ Whether they kept up this recipe for a happy marriage is not clear. There is no evidence that Ester Helena died in Nuremberg⁵ and she might have moved to Leipzig eventually. The library, at any rate, remained in Nuremberg and nothing seems to have happened to it. There are practically no

additions dating from after 1694 and although it is more difficult to prove that nothing disappeared, it looks as if the library was left virtually untouched for more than thirty years. Eventually, in 1725 or shortly before, Meisius, who had not shown much interest in the Arnold library, decided to sell it.⁶ He requested Sebastian Jakob Jungendres to make the necessary arrangements for the auction. Jungendres (1684-1766) was born at Nuremberg and had studied at Leipzig where he probably met Meisius. He returned to Nuremberg in 1715 and applied himself to the editing of texts and other literary activities. He drew up the catalogue of the Arnold library, had it printed and organized the sale of the books. In his preface to the printed catalogue he states that Meisius had come to the conclusion that the scholars of Europe should get a chance to profit from the rich resources of books collected by the Arnolds. Whether this highly idealistic motive is the whole truth may be doubted: by this time Meisius had been in charge of the library for more than 26 years. It is more likely that financial considerations played a role.

After some initial problems the library was sold in the course of the year 1725. 14 January 1725 was fixed upon for the sale of the first part of the library. The policy to try and sell such a large number of books in one day, however, does not seem to have been successful, and was therefore abandoned for the sale of the second part. There came a new arrangement to the effect that everyone, having consulted the catalogue, could make his choice, pay and collect his items. That even in the early eighteenth century not every bibliophile had sufficient command of the Latin tongue is demonstrated by a note in German that Jungendres adds after two prefaces full of Latin instructions:

Weil bey dem Verkauf des ersten Theils angemerket,
dass diejenige, so der Lateinische Sprach nicht
kundig, nich gewusst, auf was weiss die Bücher
verkauft werden: so habe ich denenselben zu gut
hiemit nur mit zweyen Worten melden wollen, dass
so bald der *Catalogus* ausgetheilt worden, die
Bücher um die baare Bezahlung können ausgefordert
werden.

The library as an entity disappeared and in all probability the books were dispersed in all directions. Shortly after the auction, on 9 October 1726, Meisius died. The date of his wife's death is unknown, as is her role in the sale of the library.

Before we discuss the "English side" of the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*, it would seem useful to give a short survey of the whole library so as to put the English element in the right perspective. In the catalogue 5224 volumes are listed. Quite a number of them, however, contain two or more titles which brings the total number of works to approximately 7200. As might be expected in the case of seventeenth-century scholars, Latin is by far the most important language.

Yet there is also a fair proportion of books in German, Dutch, English and French. As far as country of origin is concerned, Germany is, not surprisingly, well represented with 47% of the books printed in that country. Holland is a good second with 19%. Following Holland we get a group of three countries, each with about 7 to 8% of the books: England, France and Italy. Switzerland has about 5% and Belgium nearly 4%. Other countries or regions (Eastern Europe, Spain, Portugal, Scandinavia) have each less than 1%. These figures seem a first indication that the trips to Holland and England of Christoph, and to Holland, England and France of Andreas, are reflected in the number of books from those countries. The prominent position of the books of Dutch origin is especially remarkable.

It is difficult to generalize about the subject matter of the books. The library reflects a very wide range of interests. On the whole one gets the impression that the building up of the library was mainly Christoph's work. For a period of 35 years, from about 1650 till 1685, it was Christoph who took the decisions regarding the purchase of books. Even during Andreas's tour, in the years 1680-1685, Christoph exercised a strong influence in this respect through his weekly letters.⁷ He was of course in a powerful position being in control of the money supply. The number of books acquired by Andreas after his father's death in 1685 is relatively small. The library is strong in theology (patristics, church history, theological controversy and devotional works), classics, history and law. There are many travel-books and descriptions of foreign countries and religions. We find quite a few dictionaries and grammars in several languages and a considerable number of Hebrew and oriental books. The *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* also shows Christoph's interest in archaeology, germanic philology and numismatics.

Christoph Arnold was a member of the Pegnitz Order and although he seems to have lost his interest in poetry later on in life there is still a good collection of German poetry. The contributions made by Andreas to the library seem to be mainly confined to the field of science. His interest in mathematics and his relations with members of the English Royal Society will have played a role here.⁸

In relation to the great number of Latin works in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* it might be useful to point out that Latin was the universal language of learning in the seventeenth century and that the possession of Latin books from a particular country does not necessarily imply interest in or knowledge of that country (this of course also depends on the kind of books), although it does say something about the availability of foreign books and the traffic in books. Works in the vernacular, however, especially when they are present in any considerable number, are more significant in this respect, also because they point to at least a passive knowledge of that particular language. We will have to keep this in mind when we consider the books from England.

Gilbert Waterhouse, in his pioneer study of the literary relations

between Germany and England in the seventeenth century,⁹ has given a general picture of the penetration into Germany of English literature and he has demonstrated the popularity of English authors in Germany by giving a survey of translations and continental editions of their works. In the library of the Arnolds we find a concrete example of a private library whose owners were interested in England. In order to facilitate our discussion of the works in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* that are somehow related to England we will distinguish four categories. There are first of all the English books (i.e. the books written in English). They form the largest group. A second group consists of translations of English works into the vernacular. Quite naturally, translations into German take up the most prominent place here, but there are also quite a number of translations into Dutch. Many Latin books printed in Britain can be found in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* and they form a third group. Latin editions of British authors printed on the continent of Europe make up a fourth group. Full lists of all these works will be given at the end of this chapter and we will refer to them as EB, TB, LB and CB respectively, followed by the number assigned to the work in question. The division into four sections does not mean that a completely separate discussion of each category is possible or advisable. In a number of cases it is necessary to compare books from different categories. This is very obvious with regard to devotional literature where quite often the same authors are represented both in English and in translated works. For that reason we will first of all consider the position of English devotional literature irrespective of category.

a. English devotional literature

The sections of English books and of translations abound in religious works. Religion is amply present in the rest of the library but here we find an exceptionally high percentage. About two-thirds of the English books are related to religion. We find the usual categories of patristics, church history, and theological controversy. Devotional works, however, constitute by far the greater part of this section. The percentage of devotional works among the translations is even higher and reaches 80%. This popularity of English divines was not confined to the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*, it was a general phenomenon in seventeenth-century Germany and already noticed by Waterhouse and L.M. Price. The latter has the following observation:

During the seventeenth century English religious literature played a role in Germany, the importance of which has never been duly estimated. In the second half of the century the complaint was publicly voiced that the bookshops were filled with translations of English works in which a secret poison was concealed [i.e. Puritanism and other heterodox Protestant views]. In view of the close connection between pietism and the later development of German literature - barock

subjectivism, sentimentalism, "storm and stress" and romanticism - these theological works, however unliterary in themselves, ought not to be overlooked.¹⁰

Price sees a link between the development of pietism in Germany and the influence of English devotional writers and he is not the only one.¹¹ It is a fact that the Arnolds were in touch with Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), pastor at Frankfurt and one of the leading pietists of the day. He was one of Christoph's correspondents¹² and Andreas paid him a visit on his way from Nuremberg to Holland.¹³ Spener himself points to the influence of English divines on his own theological thinking and he mentions four books of English origin which played a decisive role in his development.¹⁴ Three of these books are listed in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* and the fourth must also have been known to Christoph Arnold. There is first of all Lewis Bayly's very popular book *The practise of pietie* which was known to Spener in its German translation *Uebung in der Gottseligkeit* (Zürich, 1629) and of which the Arnolds possessed the English original (EB 24, the thirty-fourth edition!). Two other works mentioned by Spener are present in the catalogue: Daniel Dyke's *Selbstbetrüg* (Frankfurt, 1652) a translation by Theodore Haak of *The mystery of self-deceiving*¹⁵ and Richard Baxter's *Von Verläugnung unseres selbst* (Hamburg, 1665), the English original of which is *A treatise of self-denyal*. The fourth book, which is not to be found in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*, is Emanuel Sonthomb's *Göldenes Kleinod der Kinder Gottes* of which the alleged English origin is rather obscure. This book was edited in 1657 by the influential Lutheran theologian Johann Michael Dilherr (1604-1669). Dilherr, a friend and colleague of Christoph Arnold, introduced other English writings and wrote many devotional works himself.¹⁶ Like Spener, who valued his writings very much, he tried to carry through reforms in the Lutheran Church. Arnold contributed 90 hymns to Dilherr's emblem book *Augen- und Hertzenslust* (Nuremberg, 1661). The cooperation between Arnold and Dilherr makes it very likely that Christoph Arnold possessed Sonthomb's book and its absence from the library could be due to its popularity. It was seen as a personal possession rather than as a book for a library.

Another good acquaintance of Christoph Arnold and a fellow member of the Pegnitz Order, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, translated Joseph Hall's *Characters of virtues and vices* (1st ed. London, 1608) into *Kennzeichen der Tugend und Laster* (Nuremberg, 1652).¹⁷ It is obvious that English devotional literature appealed to Christoph Arnold and his friends and colleagues at Nuremberg. During his son's stay in England requests for this kind of literature are passed on and we come across instructions like "Bring *Man's Duty* for Mr. Imhoff".¹⁸

In their choice of authors the Arnolds follow the general tendency as noticed by Waterhouse, although their range of authors is much

wider. The unchallenged winner of the popularity contest is Joseph Hall (1574-1656), bishop of Exeter and Norwich and a prolific author. The *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* contains no less than nineteen of his English works and two in translation. The translated works are *Himmel auf Erden* (Breslau, 1632), based upon *Heaven upon Earth: or of true peace and tranquillitie of mind* (London, 1606) and *Christliches Liebes-Wahrheits-Geschenck* (Hanau, 1669), which is a translation of *Christ-mysticall* (London, 1647). The former work is mentioned by Waterhouse, the latter is not.

Waterhouse gives a list of eight different English authors whose devotional works were translated into German. He lists forty-eight treatises and pamphlets and a considerable number of them are to be found in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*. William Perkins (1558-1602) has three of his translated tracts in the library: *Kunst wohl zu sterben* (Basle 1605, a translation of *A Salve for a sick man, or the right manner of dying well*, Cambridge 1595); *Tractätlein von des Menschen natürlichen Gedancken* (Cassel 1668, based on *A treatise of man's imagination*, Cambridge 1606); and a work translated not into German but into Dutch, *Grondige uytlegginghe der thien gheboden* (Amsterdam 1605, the origin of which can be found in a work called *A golden chaine*, London 1590). Thanks to their long visits to Holland the Arnolds possessed a good knowledge of Dutch and this enabled them to read the English divines not only in German but also in Dutch translations. Certainly among their Nuremberg acquaintances this does not seem to have been exceptional: many of them visited Dutch universities and would have been in a position to study English works in Dutch translations.

The works of the puritan writer Richard Baxter (1615-1691) take up the most prominent place among the translations. We find only one of his tracts (*The life of faith as it is*, London 1660) in the list of English books, but he leads the league in the group of translations. In connection with Spener we have mentioned *Von der Verläugnung unseres selbst*, but besides this work there are three other translations. One of them, which does not really belong to the category of devotional works, is his book on the Quakers *Der Quacker Catechismus* (TB 5). The work is bound up with several other pamphlets about the Quakers by Lassenius and Pauli¹⁹ and reflects Arnold's interest in unorthodox religious groups. Other works by Baxter in translation are *Leben des Glaubens* (Basle 1679, a translation of *The life of faith as it is*, London 1660) and *Stimme Gottes* (Basle 1667, a translation of *A call to the unconverted*, London 1658). Waterhouse does not mention the last two works.

Sir Richard Baker (1568-1645), who, reduced to poverty, wrote his devotional works in prison, is represented by five works, three in English, *An apology for lay-men's writing in divinity* (1641), *Meditations and motives for prayer* (1642), and *Soliloquy of the soule* (1642) and two in Dutch translations, *Meditatien en Vraghen over de VII Boet-Psalmen Davids* (Amsterdam 1654, based on *Meditations and*

disquisitions upon the penitential psalms, London 1639) and *Vragen en Bedenkingen op 't Vader onze* (Amsterdam 1644, based on *Meditations and disquisitions upon the Lord's prayer*, London 1636). Of the latter two works German translations by Andreas Gryphius were also available but they were of a later date.²⁰

The diversity of English devotional authors in German translation in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* is remarkable. The relatively small number of 42 translated devotional works were produced by no less than 29 different authors and even when we disregard the six writers whose works only occur in a Dutch version we are left with 23 names as against 8 in Waterhouse. Of the names not mentioned by Waterhouse the majority are puritan divines: Robert Bolton (TB 9), Arthur Dent (TB 15 and 16, his famous work *The plaine mans pathway to Heaven* both in a German and in a Dutch translation), John Cotton (TB 12), Jeremiah Dyke²¹ (TB 22,23), Humphrey Lynde (TB 32), Matthew Mead (TB 33), John Preston (TB 38), Obadiah Sedgwick (TB 4), Thomas Taylor (TB 47) and Thomas Watson (TB 50,51). Other people are John Hayward, an historian who wrote many pious manuals (TB 26,27), the Scottish bishop William Cowper (TB 13,14), the bishop of Peterborough Joseph Henshaw (TB 29, also present in the English original EB 161) and the bishop of Chester John Wilkins, the first secretary of the Royal Society. When we include the Dutch translations the list would be even longer.

The occurrence of so many translations convincingly demonstrates the popularity of English divines in Germany. The presence of English books in a private library tells us something about the owner's taste but does not in itself justify a conclusion that goes beyond that. Translations, on the other hand, indicate a wider public for a particular author and they make his work accessible to people who do not possess sufficient linguistic knowledge to read the work in the original or who are not in a position to procure a copy in the original language.

The Arnolds, with their visits to England, their manifold English contacts and their knowledge of the language, did not have to limit themselves to English devotional writers in translation. They could go for the original works, an opportunity of which they made ample use. About 140 of the total number of 320 English books could be classified as devotional. There are many collections of sermons, "private devotions", and "instructions for divine meditations". The authors range from orthodox Anglicans to staunch puritans and when we take the dates of publication as a guide the books were acquired over a great period of time with peaks during the English visits of Christoph and Andreas. Quite a few books were published in the 1630s and 1640s (for instance R.Baker and J.Hall), but we find also examples from the 1670s and 1680s (R.Allestree, I.Barrow). There can be no doubt about the appeal English devotional literature had for liberal Lutherans like the Arnolds and in this they seem representative of many more Germans of their generation and background.

b. Other translations

Dominant as English devotional works may be among the translations, the field is not exclusively theirs. There is for instance also a small section of travel-books. The works we find here are Lancelot Addison's *West-Barbarey* (TB 1), accounts of travels by Samuel Purchas and Sir Thomas Roe (TB 39,40) and a translation of Sir William Temple's *Observations upon the United Provinces* (TB 48). Two other works testify to the great interest that existed on the Continent in the English Civil War and the subsequent execution of Charles I. We come across a French translation of Thomas Blount's account of the battle of Worcester (the only French book in this list) and a German translation of a number of discourses on the Civil War (TB 8 and 31 respectively). The popularity of this theme is very obvious and we will come back to it later in this chapter.

Interesting is the occurrence of two translations of Alexander Ross's *View of all religions*, a Dutch and a German one (TB 42,43). In 1668 Christoph Arnold had written an appendix to the latter work. Five years before, in 1663, Arnold had translated a work by Abraham Rogers dealing with the same subject from Dutch into German. He added some chapters of his own to this work in which he shows himself familiar with the Dutch translation of Ross's work. This might be an indication that the Dutch translation was used to produce the German one. Finally mention should be made of the presence of a Dutch translation of *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (*Vulgar errors*) by Sir Thomas Browne, an old favourite of Christoph Arnold (TB 10).

We can observe an interesting phenomenon as regards the places of origin of the translations. More than one third of them were published in Holland and are translations from English into Dutch. For the Arnolds, at least, Dutch was an important medium through which they could take cognizance of English publications.

Another interesting feature is that a considerable number of the translations into German were published in Switzerland, mostly at Basle or Bern. An important translator at Basle was the theologian Wolfgang Mayer (1577-1653), who had studied in Cambridge. He translated into German and Latin works by Perkins, Willet, Downname, Cooper, Hall, Prynne and Ussher²² and he adapted a work by the puritan Thomas Taylor for the German reader.²³

c. Other English works

1. *Theology*. Apart from the large devotional section which has been dealt with under a. there are many more English books in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* which could be labelled "theological". Quite a few of them bear a polemic character. There is for example a series of tracts on tithes started by John Selden (EB 251) and answered by Stephen Nettles (EB 210) and Richard Montague (EB 207). The controversy was noted by Christoph Arnold during his visit to England in 1651 when these books were probably bought.²⁴ It was not the only

theological dispute going on in those days and many pamphlets in the Arnoldian library bear titles like "An answer to...", "An epistle to..." or "A vindication of...". The oldest books in the collection certainly fall into the category "polemic". These are anti-catholic tracts by John Bale *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe* (London, 1534) and by William Turner *The huntyng and fyndyng out of the romishe fox* (London, 1534), already antiquarian works by the time they were bought for the library.

Other books in the theological section have a more descriptive character. There is a standard work on (or perhaps we had better say "against") the sectaries: Thomas Edward's *Gangraena, or a catalogue* (London, 1646). It is one of the books probably acquired during Christoph's stay in England and mentioned and perhaps used in his letters to Richter. Another book of a clearly descriptive nature is Sir Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Greek and Armenian churches* (London, 1679). The acquisition of this book, probably by Andreas during his English visit, reflects the interest shown in the orthodox churches by the Arnolds.

2. *History*. The English Civil War and the fate of Charles I drew a great deal of attention on the Continent and many books and pamphlets were published on the subject of which the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* has its fair share. Most of the works in this field, however, are written by non-Englishmen and will therefore be discussed in another part of this chapter. The English section has only a couple of works relating to Charles I (EB 183,213) and a book by John March *Amicus reipublicae. The commonwealth's friend* (London, 1651). Most of the other historical works deal with ancient British history, a subject that excited Christoph Arnold's interest. We find John Speed's *History of Great-Britain* (London, 1632). Speed was encouraged in his writing by William Camden and Sir Robert Bruce Cotton and these two are present in this part of the library as well: Camden with his *Remaines of a greater worke concerning Britaine* (London, 1623) and Cotton with *Cottoni posthuma* (London, 1679). Mention should also be made of Richard Verstegen's *A restitution of decayed intelligence* (London, 1628), a work used by Christoph Arnold for his appendix to the German translation of Ross's *View of all religions*. William Lisle's *Divers ancient monuments in the Saxon tongue* (London, 1638), Edward Stillingfleet's *Antiquities of the British churches* (London, 1685) and James Ussher's *A discourse of the religion anciently professed by the Irish and the Brittish* (London, 1638) are other works that belong to this group. We go even further back in history with William Burton's commentary on *Antoninus' Itinerary* (London, 1658) and Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall* (London, 1658). The latter work, which we can hardly call a historical work proper, was used by Christoph Arnold for one of his own publications.

3. *Geography and travel*. This constitutes a fairly large section. It contains descriptions of England (EB 60,61), Ireland (EB 306),

London (EB 272), and of the Netherlands (EB 100,215,287) but also of more exotic regions of the world ranging from the coasts of Guinea (EB 303) to the Sultan of Turkey's Seraglio (EB 319) and from the northern countries (EB 180) to the West-Indies (EB 113,27). Richard Hakluyt's well-known work *The principal navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* (London, 1599) is not lacking nor are the accounts of and instructions for continental travel by Edward Browne and James Howell (EB 41,172). Two books by John Josselyn about New England, *An account of two voyages to New England* (London, 1675) and *New England rarities* (London, 1675), are mentioned in Christoph's letter of 14 July 1682 to his son in London.²⁵ Christoph quotes from the former book and he asks his son to buy the latter which Andreas subsequently must have done.

Christoph Arnold in particular was fascinated by travel-books and the English ones in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* are only a small part of a much bigger collection of accounts of exotic religions and peoples. He edited and published accounts of travels to Japan, the Far East and the East-Indies by Caron, Schouten and Merklein and a translation of a Dutch book by Abraham Rogers about the great diversity of religions.²⁶

4. *Literature.* Most of the books in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* have long been forgotten and the majority of the English books form no exception. There is a small section, however, which has kept its popularity till the present day. It comprises those works which have become part of the English literary tradition. The works in question are: Richard Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple: Sacred Poems* (London, 1648); George Herbert's collection of poems *The Temple* (Cambridge, 1634); a collection of early poems by Milton dating to 1645 (EB 202) and Edmund Spenser's collected works including *The Faerie Queen* and *The Shepheards Calendar* (London, 1611). Although there are five works by John Donne in the list his poems are not among them. Yet there is enough justification to include Donne's essays, devotions and sermons among the works of literary value. It seems practically certain, however, that the literary value of these works was not Arnold's first consideration when he bought them, and probably not a consideration at all. These acquisitions must be judged against the background of the many devotional works in the English part of the library. The devotional rather than the literary element must have been the attraction. As a matter of fact, this could also easily be the reason behind the purchase of the poems by Crashaw and Herbert. The religious character of these poems fits in nicely with the devotional tenor of the English books in the library. It is more difficult to keep up this line of argument in the case of Milton and Spenser. Milton's early poems, which include *Comus* and *Lycidas*, are not predominantly religious. The major attraction in this case will have been Milton's prominent position as a defender of the Commonwealth. As such he was known on the Continent and as such he figures in Christoph's letters. It seems quite natural that Christoph wanted

to possess the poems of this famous man, whose autograph was also one of his valuable possessions. Spenser, finally, could be there, simply because he was a prominent Protestant poet, like his contemporary Sir Philip Sidney, whose *Arcadia* was a source of inspiration for the Pegnitz Order.

Our conclusion on the basis of this evidence can be that we should not attach too much value to the presence of these English poems. It certainly does not prove that Christoph Arnold showed a particular interest in English poetry. On the other hand one could argue that Christoph's membership of the Pegnitz Order, together with the many German and Dutch poems in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*, testifies to a general interest in poetry that would not have stopped at his side of the Channel.

In the Pegnitz Order Christoph was very active during his student years in the 1640s. However, afterwards his activity in this field declined. In a letter of 3 March 1683 to his son in Paris he even states "Poemata lasse ich immerhie passirn".²⁷ This must have been a change of mind later in his life. The *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* contains many "poemata" and it is perhaps useful to mention some of the Dutch and German poems in Arnold's library in the light of his English acquisitions in this field. There is an interesting collection of Dutch poems apparently acquired during his years in Holland. Besides poems by Jacob Cats,²⁸ one of the people he called upon, we come across titles like 't Amsterdams Minneboeckje (1648), *De Haerlemsche Meybloempjes* and *De Haerlemsche Winterbloempjes*, *Westerbaan's Minnedichten* and *P. Dubbels Helikon, bestaande uit Zangen, Kusjes en Mengel-Rijm* (Amsterdam, 1645).²⁹ In our discussion of the English poems we emphasized the devotional element but that certainly does not apply here. The amorous character of the poems, however, suggests extra-literary motives of a completely different kind.

In the German poetry section we meet, as could be expected, Christoph's colleagues of the Pegnitz Order but also people like Martin Opitz and Daniel Georg Morhof.³⁰ The latter's *Teutsche Gedichte* contain some translations from Francis Quarles's *Enchiridion*. *Teutsche Gedichte* appeared in 1682 and this seems to contradict Arnold's verdict on "poemata" a year later. It is perhaps an exception that proves the rule. Another work by Morhof in the library is *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache*, 1682, which has a section on English literature.³¹

Arnold does not confine himself to Protestant poets. There are quite a few works by the Jesuit Jacob Balde, author of Latin poetry, who seems to have been one of Christoph's acquaintances: Balde wrote an entry in Christoph's album.

There has been a silent assumption so far that the literary section is the exclusive province of Christoph Arnold and it is true that his son never shows any sign of interest in poetry except perhaps for his writing a couple of hymns. Unlike his father, Andreas

never joined the Pegnitz Order. The fact that all the English poets in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* are from the first half of the seventeenth century and that we do not find any representatives from the second half of the century, the period of Andreas's visit to England, is another indication that it was Christoph rather than Andreas who bought them.

5. *Science*. With reference to scientific works the point has to be made that although science was primarily Andreas's province, even here Christoph had a finger in the pie. The first scientific works were acquired in 1651 during Christoph's English visit. He never refers to them in his letters and it could be that personal contacts rather than interest in science account for the acquisition of certain works. Christoph's friendly relations with John Greaves, Professor of Astronomy, for instance, could explain the presence of some of the latter's works in the library. When, thirty years later, his son Andreas was in England, he bought two books by the botanist Nehemiah Grew (EB 129, 130)³² and one by Robert Boyle (EB 31). Another work by Boyle, *Experiments and considerations about the porosity of bodies* (London 1684, EB 30), was sent to Nuremberg by Theodore Haak.³³ There are many more works by Boyle in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*, but they are written in Latin, like most other scientific works, and will therefore be discussed elsewhere.

6. *Dictionaries*. Christoph Arnold was an enthusiastic collector of dictionaries which was probably the combined result of his partiality for travel-accounts to exotic regions, his philological interest and his work as a translator. Only a few of these dictionaries are listed in the English section. There is an old triple dictionary in English, French and Latin (EB 19) and a Spanish-English dictionary (EB 203). The latter book was perhaps acquired for the Spanish lessons Andreas took in Paris. John Rider's *Dictionary* (London 1649, EB 235) turned out to be very useful. Christoph states several times that he has consulted it. The other important English dictionary is Coles's (Elisha Coles, *A dictionary English-Latin*).³⁴ It was in Arnold's possession but for some reason or other it did not end up in the catalogue. In a letter of 6 April 1683 he comments on the usefulness of the two dictionaries:

Coles und Ridders Dictionary mussten im Englischen
einander aus der Noth helfen, sintemal ich beiß
diesem manch wort gefunden, das jener ausgelassen.³⁵

In Christoph's experience he needed both of them to supplement each other. A couple of months later Johann Christoph Sturm, Andreas's old professor of mathematics at Altdorf, received a tract about magnetism from the Royal Society in London and Christoph was called in to assist with his *Rider's Dictionarie*.³⁶ It was certainly one of the more useful books in the library.

d. Latin works printed in Britain

The collection of Latin books of British origin differs in character from the group of English works and the group of translations. The strong emphasis on devotional literature, which by its nature is mostly written in the vernacular, is absent. It is difficult to point out one dominant theme among the Latin works, although there is a theological emphasis. This part of the library, too, seems to reflect the preferences of Christoph rather than those of his son. The first information about the building up of the library is given in Christoph's well-known letter to Richter.³⁷ This letter contains a long discussion of a great many books, which were partly acquired for the library. It is the most complete list of its kind in the Arnold correspondence and judging from it theological controversy and church history are the most attractive subjects in the eyes of Christoph, an impression which is confirmed when we look at the complete collection of Latin books printed in Britain. James Ussher, who produced quite a lot in the above-mentioned fields, takes up the most prominent place with seven Latin works (this on top of the three English ones in the library). Christoph had met Ussher in London and this personal contact may have played a role in the acquisition of so many of Ussher's works.

Church history and religious controversy are, however, by no means the only subjects. In the theological section we find, apart from these categories, patristics (Cyprian and Ignatius among others), devotion, biblia, and works on ecumenism (Durie, Hammond, Hayne). Outside theology we find law (Cowell), history, politics, classics (Aristotle, Aeschylus), science and botany, philology and linguistics (including dictionaries). Well-known names already in the Richter letter, are to be found among the authors of the Latin works: Isaac and Meric Casaubon, Sir Henry Spelman, Isaac and John Gerhard Vossius. Of particular relevance for this study are the following books:

1. *History*. Christoph's interest in Old English history, religion and language led to the purchase of quite a few books in this field. The most important are: *Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Historia Novorum ex Bibliotheca Cottoniana* (London, 1623) edited by John Selden; Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici* (London, 1639); Sir John Spelman's *Aelfredi magni Anglorum regis invictissimi vita* (Oxford, 1678) and by the same author *Psalterium Davidis Latino Saxoniam* (London, 1640); Robert Sheringham's *De anglorum gentis origine* (Cambridge, 1670); Sir John Skene's book about old Scottish laws *Regiam majestatem Scotiae veteres leges et constitutiones* (London, 1613), and last but not least the venerable Bede's *Historiae ecclesiasticae* (Cambridge, 1643). Many of these works were used not only by Christoph in his appendix to Ross, but also by Andreas in his treatise on the St. Peter's-penny (*Denarius S. Petri*, Altdorf 1679).

This work was written as part of Andreas's study at Altdorf and the greater part of it deals with the history of the St. Peter's-penny in England with only a brief survey of other countries. There is a flood of references to and quotations from English works, to which Andreas had of course easy access in his father's library. Besides the works already mentioned Andreas consulted John Cowell's *Institutiones juris Anglicani* (London, 1630) and an English work by the same author *The interpreter: or a book containing the signification of words* (London, 1637), Francis Godwin's *De praesulibus Angliae* (London, 1616), works by Selden, Ussher and Whelock (both in English and Latin) and finally two English works by John Greaves, *Discourse of the Romane foot* (London, 1647) and *Pyramidographia* (London, 1646). Judging from the date of publication and Christoph's correspondence, the majority of these books were acquired during Christoph's English stay in 1651 (although there are later additions), but Christoph's and Andreas's works demonstrate that they were used and consulted long afterwards.

2. *Politics and contemporary history.* The *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* does not confine itself to ancient history and religion. The political and religious situation of Cromwell's England aroused Christoph's attention and his choice of books reflects this. Thomas May, whose epitaph is quoted in full in the Richter letter,³⁸ wrote a history of Parliament and it was acquired for the library (LB 128). We need not repeat the details about the dispute between Salmasius and Milton, but it is significant that apart from the two works that started the discussion, Salmasius's *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I* (LB 176) and Milton's reply *Pro Populo Anglicano defensio* (LB 134), Christoph also acquired the reaction by Salmasius to Milton's attacks, published as late as 1660, at a time when Milton could no longer defend himself due to the change in the political situation. The possession of *Claudii Salmasii ad Johannem Miltonum responsio* (London, 1660) is an indication of the lasting interest shown in the matter.

3. *Science.* Robert Boyle's works were published in Latin and English; the Latin editions appeared both in England and on the Continent. The result is that we find Boyle's works in three different sections of this chapter. The Latin list contains three of Boyle's books on natural philosophy: *Defensio doctrinae de elatere et gravitate aeris* (London, 1663); *Experimenta et considerationes de coloribus* (London, 1665); and *De ipsa natura* (London, 1687). The latter book is remarkable for its late date of publication, 1687. It is one of only three books printed in Britain acquired after 1685. Physics is not the only area of science represented in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*. As a matter of fact the range is quite wide and we find such different subjects as chemistry (William Johnson), mathematics (William Oughtred, Seth Ward, Ricci, Mercator), astronomy (Mercator), physics (Boyle, Plot, Samuel Ward), medicine (the German author Loss), zoology (Moffet, Charleton, Lister) and botany (Ray).

The dates of publication (most editions date to the 1670s and 1680s) and the great number of Fellows of the Royal Society among the authors seem to confirm the impression that Andreas rather than Christoph is the man behind these acquisitions, although we perhaps should make an exception for botany in which Christoph shows himself interested. Christoph himself cultivated English flowers in his garden in Nuremberg and he mentions the botanist Nehemiah Grew who wrote works on British plants.³⁹

4. *Dictionaries and grammars.* The dictionaries in this section are part of a much larger collection in the whole of the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* describing the languages of many countries ranging from Germany's neighbours to Japan. Among the Latin books in the present list we find Thomas Thomas's *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (London, 1631), next to Hiob Ludolf's *Lexicon Aethiopicum-Latinum* (London, 1661) and a grammar of the Turkish language by William Seaman (LB 178). Another work, Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (London, 1669) was among the books sent home by Andreas in one of his shipments from England.⁴⁰ In this case we know for certain what we suspect in many other cases, namely that the book was directly bought in England.

This survey of list 3 has by no means been exhaustive and a considerable number of titles bearing on our subject have not been covered by one of the preceding categories. There are, for instance, two works about the Arundel Marbles (LB 11,125), edited by John Selden and Humphrey Prideaux respectively, William Camden's famous description of Britain *Britannia* (London, 1590), quite a few books about the Church of England and its organization, doctrine and liturgy, the statutes of Oxford University (LB 189) and the catalogue of the Bodleian Library (LB 40). Finally mention should be made of the Latin poems of Abraham Cowley (LB 44).

e. Continental Latin editions of English authors

One category of works by English authors has not been included among the three preceding lists and yet needs mentioning. It comprises works, either directly written in Latin, or translated into that language afterwards, which were published on the Continent. This was especially the case with philosophical, theological and scientific works. Latin was the international language of learning in the seventeenth century, understood by every scholar, and for this reason Latin editions contributed substantially to the reception and knowledge of English authors abroad, especially in those cases where continental editions made these works easily available.

Another factor of importance in the distribution of English literature on the Continent were the many English (and also Scottish and Irish) authors living abroad in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. They had left their country for political or religious reasons (it is not easy to make a distinction in this period of history) and consequently they

published mainly outside England and predominantly in Latin. Their writings often display a polemic character due to their background and situation.

The factors mentioned above explain the important role which continental editions of English authors played in the traffic of ideas and learning from England to the Continent (and in our case to Germany in particular) and it is not surprising that the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* contains a fair number of these works. A list will be given at the end of this chapter (for convenience sake referred to as list 4). A survey of the list shows that about 50% of the works bear on theology and some 20% could be classified as scientific. A third important group consists of books dealing with history and contemporary politics. Travel, linguistics and literature proper, finally, are also present, albeit in a very modest way.

1. *Theology*. In the theological section we find a strong emphasis on controversy, which is not strange when we consider the authors and their circumstances. There is first of all a considerable group of British Catholics living abroad: Nicholas Sanders (1530?-1581), Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598), Richard Stanyhurst (1547-1618) and his son William (1603-1663), Robert Balfour (1550?-1625?), whose only fault was (according to his biographer)⁴¹ his zealous adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, Thomas Carve (1590-1672), John Leslie (1527-1596), bishop of Ross, and John Barclay (1582-1621), author of one of the most famous works of the seventeenth century, *Argenis cum clave*. It is a remarkable collection in the library of two Nuremberg Protestants.

The Catholic authors mentioned above were not all of them engaged in controversies. The main controversialists were Nicholas Sanders and Thomas Stapleton. Especially the latter fought out many theological duels with his Protestant opponents among whom William Whitaker (1548-1595), a prominent Cambridge don, and John Jewell (1522-1571), bishop of Salisbury, were the principal ones. Both Whitaker and Jewell are present in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*. William Whitaker has three of his works in list 4, one of which clearly shows its character in the title: *Disputatio de sacra scriptura contra R. Bellarminum & T. Stapletonum* (Herborn, 1603). He translated a work by Jewell into Latin *Adversus Thomas Hardingum volumen, ex Anglico in Latinum conversum a G. Whitakero* (Geneva, 1585). Jewell's treatise was part of another long controversy with numerous exchanges, this time between Jewell and Thomas Harding (1516-1572), a Catholic exile living in Belgium and former colleague of Jewell in Salisbury.

Not every Catholic abroad, however, produced polemical tracts. Thomas Carve (1590-1672), for instance, is first of all known for his *Itinerarium*, of which the Arnolds acquired the first part, published at Mainz in 1639 (CB 34). Carve, a priest of Irish origin, had entered the service of Charles III, Duke of Lorraine, and he became the chaplain-in-chief of the Duke's army. Apart from his *Itinerarium* we find three other works (CB 33,35,36), all of them in

original Latin editions. Another Irish Catholic, Richard Stanyhurst, wrote a history of Ireland *De rebus in Hibernia gestis Libri VI*, which he published in Antwerp in 1584 (CB 77). His son William became a Jesuit and settled in Brussels. He wrote *Dei immortalis ... historia* (Antwerp 1660, CB 78), which saw many reprints.

Not only Catholics but also many puritans refused to conform to the Anglican State Church and preferred to go into exile. A famous group is formed by the Pilgrim Fathers. Before they eventually emigrated to America, they stayed for eleven years in Leyden. John Robinson was pastor of the congregation at Leyden and he wrote an *Apologia pro Brownists* (Leyden 1644, CB 70). The history of this apology illustrates the difficulties in cataloguing some of the works by Englishmen published on the Continent and to a certain extent also the arbitrariness of our division into four categories. The work was originally written in Latin and published in 1619 in Leyden. Afterwards it was translated into English under the title *A just and necessary apologie of certain Christians ... called Brownists* (Leyden, 1625) and the present copy is again a Latin edition.

Two other prominent puritan names figuring in the list are John Bastwick (1593-1654) and William Prynne (1600-1669). Both of them were involved in the opposition against Charles I and his government in the 1630s and were prosecuted in a famous trial. Bastwick, who had served for a time in the Dutch army, wrote an anti-Catholic tract *Elenchus papisticae religionis* (CB 11), published in Amsterdam in 1634. Prynne was an extremely prolific writer who produced more than 200 pamphlets and books and one of his tracts, a Latin translation of *The sword of the Christian magistracy supported* (1st ed., London 1647) is to be found in list 4 (CB 68). It was translated by Wolfgang Mayer and published in 1649, probably in Basle.

Among the authors in this list we meet again John Durie. Christoph had met him in England where he had been on friendly terms with him. He makes mention of some of Durie's works in his letter to Richter and acquired them for his library. He apparently did not forget Durie and remained interested in Durie's ecumenical work. He bought three of Durie's works that appeared in Amsterdam in the 1660s: *Irenicorum tractatum prodromus* (1662, CB 44), a collection of documents relating to Durie's work, and two works recording several of the many disputes in which Durie got involved *Appellatio ad tribunal* (1665, CB 42) and *Consultationum Irenicarum* (1664, CB 43).

It has been observed that devotional literature was mostly written in the vernacular. Yet there are some exceptions, notably a number of tracts by William Perkins, one of the most popular English devotional writers in Germany. We find a Latin translation of *A warning against the idolatrie of the last times*, a book that was published for the first time in Cambridge in 1600 (*De idolatria postremi huius temporis*, Oppenheim 1616, CB 66) and a collection of four different tracts *Opuscula theol. varia ex Angl. versa* (Hanover 1608, CB 67), translations of *The foundation of Christian religion*,

An exposition of the Symbole, An exposition of the Lord's prayer, and of extracts from *The golden chaine*. The comparatively early date of these works could account for a translation into Latin rather than into the vernacular.

2. *The Latin novel*. Waterhouse has a special section on what he calls the "Latin novel". In it he discusses the popularity and distribution of three books: Thomas More's *Utopia*, Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem*, and John Barclay's *Argenis cum clave*. These works, which of course cannot be called novels in the literary historical sense of the word, are all of them present in list 4, and it would therefore seem interesting to give a brief description of the editions acquired by the Arnolds.

Utopia was not a very popular book in seventeenth-century Germany. There are hardly any references to it and the editions are rare. It is not surprising therefore that Christoph Arnold acquired a Dutch edition (Amsterdam 1629, CB 63).⁴²

Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem* was written under the pseudonym of Mercurius Britannicus, but it is generally assumed that Joseph Hall is the author.⁴³ *Mundus alter et idem* is a kind of moral satire dealing with various human vices and set in a number of imaginary countries which bear close resemblance to existing countries. List 4 contains two editions of this work (CB 50,51), one of them dated Utrecht 1648, the other one undated. The latter must be the "Frankfort (London 1605)" edition, mentioned by Waterhouse⁴⁴ and occurring in the STC under 12685. Yet another Latin work by Hall belongs to list 4, which brings the total number of his works in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* to an impressive 23.

The third "Latin novel", John Barclay's *Argenis cum clave*, was one of the most popular works of the seventeenth century. Waterhouse lists nearly forty editions and twenty-seven translations in practically every European language. Barclay (1582-1621) descended from a Scottish Catholic family but was born in France where his father had settled for political and religious reasons. During the reign of James I Barclay returned to England and entered the service of the King. After about ten years in England he left for Rome in 1615 and it was there that he wrote his *Argenis*. The book was dedicated to the French King Louis XIII. It is an allegory intended to give guidance in political and religious questions and it was an instantaneous success. The first edition (Paris 1621) was very soon followed by many others. The work was well-known and admired by people round Christoph Arnold in Nuremberg as appears from references to it by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer and Sigismund von Birken.⁴⁵ The *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* possesses the first of seven Nuremberg editions (1673, CB 7). An earlier work by Barclay, *Satyricon*, is present in a Leyden edition of 1628.

3. *Science*. In a way the distinction between Latin books published in England and Latin books published on the Continent seems to be

more artificial in the case of science than with regard to theology. We have seen that Boyle, who is the favourite author here, is present in three different lists: printed in England in English, printed in England in Latin, and printed on the Continent in Latin. The latter group makes up by far the larger proportion of Boyle's works in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* (8 as against 5 printed in England of which 2 are in English and 3 in Latin). Boyle's works were published practically simultaneously in England (in English and Latin) and on the Continent (mainly in Holland and in Latin). It is of course an indication of Boyle's popularity but whether the Arnolds possessed an English or a continental edition seems to be accidental.

List 4 contains a remarkable percentage of medical books. There are, for instance, two books by William Harvey, among which is his famous treatise on the circulation of the blood (CB 52). Other physicians are Walter Charleton who wrote on the formation of calculi in the human body (CB 38) and Thomas Willis, professor at Oxford and Fellow of the Royal Society, who worked on the anatomy of the brain (CB 91).

With some reservations we could include Francis Bacon in this section on science. The first complete Latin edition of Bacon's works was produced at Frankfort in 1665. It looks as if Christoph Arnold could not wait so long and acquired earlier Dutch editions of some of Bacon's works. We come across *Nova Atlantis* (Utrecht, 1643), *Sylva Sylvarum* (Amsterdam, 1661), and *De ventis* (Leyden, 1648).

4. *History and politics*. There is a relatively strong proportion of history-books in list 4 and especially Scottish history is amply present. We find the histories of two Scottish authors, George Buchanan and John Leslie, belonging to opposite camps in the religious and political strifes of sixteenth-century Scotland but otherwise in a more or less comparable position. Both spent some time in exile. John Leslie (1527-1596), bishop of Ross, supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots, produced *De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum* (Rome 1578, CB 59) and the staunch Calvinist Georg Buchanan (1506-1582) wrote *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (Frankfort 1594, CB 30). It is not Buchanan's only work in this list. During his stay in Portugal Buchanan found himself locked up in a monastery accused of heresy. He made good use of his time by translating the psalms into Latin and CB 28 is an Antwerp edition of this translation.

The turbulent history of the English Civil War is reflected in a number of tracts on this subject of which perhaps George Bate's *Elenchus motuum nuperorum in Anglia* (Amsterdam 1663, CB 10) is the most interesting. Bate skilfully managed to combine Royalist sympathies with a job as court physician to Cromwell. The *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* contains two editions of his *Elenchus*: the Amsterdam edition just mentioned and one Edinburgh (Rouen)⁴⁶ edition dating to 1650.

5. *Some other books in list 4*. A work that is present in two

versions, an English and a Latin one, is *Scrutinium religionum* (*Enquiries touching the diversity of languages and religions*), respectively CB 25 and EB 36. This work by Edward Brerewood was used for Christoph's appendix to Ross's *View of all religions* as was Edward Herbert's *De religione gentiliū errorumque apud eos causis* (Amsterdam 1663, CB 54). Ross himself is present in a posthumous work that was published at Rotterdam in 1661: *Virgilius Triumphans* (CB 71).

In his *De sanguine uvae* the physician Tobias Whitaker proves something that the real wine-lover must have suspected for a long time, namely that wine is a very wholesome drink. The full title of the English original (London, 1638) makes this clear: *The tree of Humane Life, or the Bloud of the Grape, proving the possibilitie of maintaining Humane Life from Infancy to Extreame Old Age, without any Sicknesse, by the Use of Wine*. It is a fact that wine is often mentioned by Christoph Arnold as a remedy against many of the diseases he suffered from.

About the rest of the works in list 4 we can be short. There are some travel-books, notably an archetypal work in this field, Polydore Vergil's *Anglicae historiae* (Basle, 1570) the first book of which contains a general description of Britain which shows a far more realistic approach than had been usual up to then, an English grammar (Wallis, CB 83), a work on oriental languages (Walton, CB 85) and Latin poetry by Buchanan, Arthur Johnston and John Owen. The latter's epigrams were well-known in seventeenth-century Germany. The only famous name yet to be mentioned is John Selden's. His *De successionebus ad leges Ebraeorum* (CB 73) is present in a Leyden edition of 1638.

f. Books about England by continental authors.

The four categories discussed so far do not constitute the whole of the English element in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*. There are a considerable number of books about Britain, and about England in particular, by non-British authors and these have consequently not been included in our survey so far. Yet it was also through these works that information about England reached the continental reader and it seems useful to indicate very briefly their nature. The main group consists of books about British history, especially contemporary English history. It has been observed that the fate of Charles I drew a great deal of attention throughout Europe. Elsewhere in this study we have given an account of the polemic between Salmasius and Milton about this controversial subject,⁴⁷ but Salmasius was by no means the only continental writer that tackled it. Philip von Zesen (1619-1689) wrote about Charles I in the early 1650s and continued his series on the Stuarts by a work on the occasion of the Restoration *Wundergeschichte Karls des zweyten, Königs in Engelland* (Amsterdam, 1661).⁴⁸ Albert Sommer is the author of a tract (said to be a translation from the English) entitled *Entseelter König Carl*

von Gross-Britannien (Hamburg, 1660)⁴⁹ and Adam Samuel Freyenstein published a Latin work about the death of Charles I *De morte Caroli M. Brit. Regis Orationes III* (Frankfort, 1653).⁵⁰ The works on the subject are not confined to Latin and German, there are also quite a number of tracts in other European languages, notably French. A more general and thorough approach to the tumultuous 1640s is to be found in Georg Hornius's *Rerum Britannicarum*,⁵¹ a work dealing with British history in the ten years before 1648. It was given to Christoph by Hornius himself and he read it during his stay in Holland. There are other, mostly anonymous, tracts, not only on this period in English history but also dealing with the history and death of Mary Stuart, the Gunpowder Plot and the Popish Plot, both in French and German. Finally we find some books about English sects, especially about the Quakers, and a few grammars of the English language of French origin.

All in all circa 10% of the library of the Arnolds is either of English origin or related to England in one way or another. The English element thus constitutes a considerable part of the library and shows in a convincing way the important position of English writings and authors in the scholarly (and scientific) activities of the Arnolds. In how far they were unique in this respect is hard to say for lack of comparable catalogues.⁵² The impression one gets from the Arnold correspondence and from other sources is, however, that there existed a similar interest among many of the Nuremberg friends and acquaintances of the Arnolds.

Finally, an interesting but difficult question remains. How did the Arnolds acquire their books? It seems certain that a fair proportion, if not the majority, of the English books in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* were bought during the respective visits to England of Christoph and Andreas. When we arrange the works in a chronological order (according to the date of publication) we see that particularly among the books in the English language there are peaks in the years 1648-1651,⁵³ the period immediately preceding and simultaneous with Christoph's visit, and also, to a lesser extent in the years 1680-1682, Andreas's English period. The explanation can be simple when we assume that these books were directly bought in England by the Arnolds. Those were the topical books of the day, available in the shops and in the case of personal presents by the authors, the works likely to be given to visitors. In Christoph's London letter to Richter an extensive survey is given of the works of a number of prominent English authors. Many of these works, approximately 50%, can be found again in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana*. During Andreas's visit, too, many books seem to have been acquired. The dates of publication of the books suggest this as does the subject matter which clearly reflects the contacts that Andreas had with important members of the Royal Society.

Christoph's letters to his son very often contain instructions for the purchase of certain books. Occasionally mention is made of

the arrival of a shipment from England, usually via Hamburg or Bremen. In a letter of October 1683 a list is given of the contents of a box from England, described by Arnold as "*cistula Anglicana*".⁵⁴ Besides manuscripts and personal possessions the box contained quite a few English books which for the greater part ended up in the Arnold library. Two auction catalogues call for special attention. They are the catalogues of auctions that took place during the eighteen months that Andreas stayed in England. The first one, a list of the books present in the libraries of Ralph Button, Thankful Owen and William Howell, announced an auction to be held on 7 November 1681. The other one, *Bibliotheca Smithiana*, prepared the selling of the library of Bishop Richard Smith on 15 May 1682. Although Christoph in a letter of 14 June 1682 asks what books Andreas has bought at the London auction, it is not clear whether Andreas actually bought anything there. The catalogues were probably also used as bibliographies. The fact that neither of them is listed in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* shows that they were considered tools rather than ordinary books.

Other bibliographical works in the English section are the catalogue of the Bodleian library (Oxford 1674, LB 40) and a work described by Arnold as "the catalogue of the English writers on the old and new testament", which must be William Crowe's *An Exact collection or catalogue of our English writers* (London 1663, EB 69). The work was consulted to get some information about George Swinnoek.⁵⁵

A continental auction catalogue that is often mentioned by Christoph Arnold is the *Bibliotheca Heinsiana* (The Hague, 1683). Christoph had been looking forward to this catalogue ever since he had received the news of Heinsius's death and he frequently makes inquiries of Andreas whether he has heard anything about it. Christoph's colleague Conrad Feuerlein was active at the Heinsius auction through an agent, Johann von Stetten, a German student at Leyden.⁵⁶ When the latter had plans to go to England Christoph thought of employing him as well.

Personal contacts played a very important role in the acquisition of books. Many letters of Christoph to his son contain instructions to buy books for his many friends and frequently extra money is sent to England. Graef, Sturm, Von Sandrart and Imhoff are some of the names which could be mentioned here.⁵⁷ We can safely assume that it also worked the other way round and that other Nuremberg visitors to England received requests from the Arnolds to procure certain books for them. There would have been ample opportunity for that. Many people from Nuremberg, in particular the members of the Pegnitz Order, but also many Altdorf students on their tours, visited England.⁵⁸

The personal contacts established during these visits provided other opportunities for the enlargement of the library. In the Arnold correspondence Theodore Haak, Mordaunt Webster and Elias

Ashmole emerge as people involved in the Anglo-German traffic of books. Especially Haak sent many books to Nuremberg, not only to Christoph Arnold but also to Conrad Feuerlein, Johann Chr. Sturm and Johann Wülffer.⁵⁹ Sturm, the Altdorf Professor of Mathematics, corresponded with the Oxford professor John Wallis and was in touch with members of the Royal Society as was the astronomer Georg Christoph Eimmart.⁶⁰ The Nuremberg engraver Joachim von Sandrart and his English colleague David Loggan formed another Anglo-German "couple" interchanging books.⁶¹ Elias Ashmole received books from Nuremberg. In a personal note of 16 July 1687 he says: "This morning I received a parcell of books from Jac.W.Imhoff of Noremberg (among which was his Excellendum Familiarium in Gallia Genealogiae)".⁶²

Personal contacts, however, were not the only way of acquiring new books. Sometimes merchants and booksellers were employed. In his correspondence Christoph frequently mentions a Mr. John Merry, an English merchant living in Nuremberg. John Merry had a brother in London and the two of them organized many shipments for the Arnolds from London to Nuremberg and vice versa. Other Nuremberg people employed them as well, notably the printer Maurice Endter, a member of the famous Nuremberg family of printers of that name. In one of his letters⁶³ Christoph tells his son that Endter wants to send a shipment of *Opera Velseri*⁶⁴ to London and he asks him whether there are many regulations and restrictions concerning the selling of foreign books in England. "In the old days", Christoph says, "people could sell their foreign books in the Customs House". The interest shown in the possibilities of selling this edition of the works of Marcus Velser was not completely unselfish. Christoph himself was the editor and the life of Velser that precedes the works was written by him.

Now and then we come across the name of a travelling bookseller. An Englishman, Robert Littelbury,⁶⁵ is mentioned and Christoph gives the titles of some of the books he offers for sale:

Oxoniens. Antiqq.
Catal. Bodl.
Marm. Arund.
St. Jamblichus
Lydiat Canones Chronol.⁶⁶

Rather vague is the role of the book-fairs, certainly with regard to English books. A few times mention is made of the Leipzig book-fair and of the fair at Strassburg. Christoph himself did not go but he apparently studied the catalogues and placed orders with Nuremberg merchants who went there. It is not clear, however, whether he ever bought English books at those fairs. He never gives a title. Our conclusion can be that personal contacts and direct personal purchases in England were by far the most important ways of acquiring English books and that groups of friends and correspondents helped

each other in this.⁶⁷

The number of books dating from after 1685, the year of Christoph's death and Andreas's return from his five years abroad, is very limited, certainly for those of English origin.⁶⁸ Both events will have played a role. Christoph was obviously the driving-force behind the building-up of the library. But also the fact that Andreas returned home in 1685 from his foreign travels is important since it meant the end of a period in which both opportunities and inducement to buy foreign books were amply present. The *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* contains no books published after 1694, the year of Andreas's death.⁶⁹ For more than thirty years, till the publication of the catalogue in 1725, nothing was added. It is less easy to conclude whether anything disappeared. Some of the works mentioned in Christoph's letters are absent.⁷⁰ Other books which we would expect to be present in the library such as Sidney's *Arcadia*, a favourite work with the members of the Pegnitz Order, Sonthomb's *Güldenés Kleinod*⁷¹ or Diggory Whear's *Relectiones hyemales*,⁷² and some bibliographies and reference works,⁷³ are lacking as well. The very fact of their popularity and frequent use might, however, account for their absence. Yet, on the whole, the library remained untouched till the eventual sale in 1725 and the auction catalogue forms a unique document registering an important part of the activities and interests of two Nuremberg scholars and providing very valuable information about the distribution of English literature in seventeenth-century Germany.

The object has been to select and identify those books in the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* which are somehow related to England. Four categories are distinguished:

1. English books (list 1, EB).
2. Translations of English works into the vernacular (list 2, TB; list 2 contains 32 translations into German, 20 into Dutch and one into French).
3. Books printed in Britain in other languages than English (list 3, LB; practically all the works in this list are in Latin).
4. Latin editions of British authors printed abroad (list 4, CB).

In order to identify these books reference will be made to the following bibliographical works and catalogues:

- A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland. And of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, London 1926 (Vol. II, second ed. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and F. Pantzer, London 1976). Hereafter STC resp. NSTC.
- D.G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700*, New York 1945-1951 (Vol I, second ed. New York 1972). Hereafter Wing.
- M.A. Shaaber, *Check-list of Works of British Authors Printed Abroad, in Languages other than English, to 1641*, New York 1975. Hereafter Shaaber (Sha).
- British Museum General Catalog of printed books, *Photolithographic edition to 1955*, London 1960-1966. Hereafter BLC.
- National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints, Chicago/London 1968-. Hereafter NUC.

Form of entries

- a) The number preceding any given book in the left-hand margin is the number assigned to this book in the present list. The order in which the items occur is alphabetical.
- b) First of all the author is given. If the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* (hereafter BA) does not give an author, the name of the author is supplied, whenever possible, from the bibliographical sources mentioned above (indicated by square brackets).
- c) Following the name of the author comes the transcription of the title as given in (N)STC, Wing, Shaaber, BLC or NUC. The object has been to make sure that each edition would be recognizable. If the title would be too long it has been curtailed. Minor changes as compared to BA such as articles or small printing errors have been silently amended. More substantial changes are indicated by square brackets and if necessary explained in a note.
- d) The title is followed by place and date of publication and format. If format given in BA differs from the format given in (N)STC, Wing or any of the other bibliographical sources, the latter format

has been taken over and the BA format is mentioned in between round brackets.

e) BA part I or II (the BA catalogue is divided into two parts each with separate pagination), page and item number are given in between round brackets following the format.

f) In lists 1 and 3 (i.e. the lists comprising the books printed in Britain) the (N)STC or Wing number can be found in the right-hand margin. In cases where the book in question does not occur in (N)STC or Wing, the BLC or NUC shelfmark or number is given. A blank space in the right-hand margin indicates that it has proved to be impossible for me to identify or to locate the work.

g) In the list of translations (list 2) each number is followed by the name of the author, the title of the translation, the place and date of publication and BA number. Following the title the English original is given (i.e. the first edition in (N)STC or Wing, not necessarily the one on which the translation has been based) and its (N)STC or Wing number.

h) The books in list 4 (continental editions) differ from the ones in the first three lists in that they do not occur in (N)STC or Wing and are not necessarily based on English originals. However, in cases where it is obvious that the continental edition is a reprint or a translation of a book listed in (N)STC or Wing, this is indicated by the (N)STC or Wing number in between square brackets, following the BA number. In cases where this is less certain or where the continental edition appeared earlier than the English one, the (N)STC or Wing number will be preceded by "Cf.".

i) The books in list 4 will be identified by referring to Shaaber (books to 1640 only), BLC or NUC (in that order). The number or shelfmark can be found in the right-hand margin. A blank space indicates that the book is not listed in Shaaber, BLC or NUC.

1. *English Books*

1. AN ACT of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled for the abolishing of Deans. [London 1649]. fol. (4^o). (BA I, p.41 no.205) BLC
506
d.9.(26)
2. AINSWORTH, HENRY. Annotations upon the five books of Moses, the book of the Psalms, and the Song of Songs, London 1639. fol. (BA I, p.6 no.74) STC
220
3. ALFORD, JOSEPH. The church triumphant. [London] 1649. 8^o. (12^o). (BA I, p.172 no.237)¹ Wing
A 921
4. [ALLESTREE, RICHARD]. The ladies calling. [Fifth edition]. At the theatre in Oxford 1677. 8^o. (BA II, p.148 no.541) Wing
A 1145
5. [ALLESTREE, RICHARD?]. Private devotions [for several occasions?]. London 1682. 8^o. (BA II, p.139 no.385)² cf. Wing
A 1161
6. [ALLESTREE, RICHARD]. The whole duty of man. London 1682. 8^o. (BA II, p.139 no.385) Wing
A 1185B
7. AMBROSE, ISAAC. Prima, media & ultima, the first,.. things. London 1659. 8^o. (BA I, p.40 no.198)³ Wing
A 2963
8. [ANDREWES, LANCELOT]. Casaubonae Stricturae or a brief answer to the 18th chapter of the first book of Cardinall Perron's reply to K. James. London 1629. 4^o. (BA II, p.18 no.25) STC
625
9. AN ANSWER to two letters of T.B. (by the author of the vindication of the clergy). London 1673. 8^o. (BA I, p.105 no.294) Wing
A 3457A
10. ASHMOLE, ELIAS. The institution, laws and ceremonies of the most noble order of the garter. London 1672. fol. (BA I, p.6 no.76) Wing
A 3983
11. AUSTIN, WILLIAM. Haec homo, wherein the excellency of the creation of woman is described. London 1637. 12^o. (8^o). (BA I, p.170 no.208) STC
974
12. [BACON, FRANCIS]. A declaration of the practices and treasons committed by Robert late Earle of Essex. London 1601. 4^o. (BA I, p.75 no.180) STC
1133

13. [BAGSHAW, CHRISTOPHER]. A true relation of the
faction begun at Wisbich, by fa. Edmonds alias
Weston, a Jesuite. London 1601. 4^o. (BA I,
p.48 no.276) STC
1188

14. BAKER, RICHARD. An apologie for lay-mens writing
in divinity. London 1641. 12^o.
(BA I, p.177 no.309) Wing
B 500

15. BAKER, RICHARD. Meditations and motives for
prayer. London 1642. 12^o. (8^o). BA I, p.105
no. 302) Wing
B 511

16. BAKER, RICHARD. A soliloquy of the soule.
London 1641. 12^o. (BA I, p.171 no.231) Wing
B 512

17. [BALE, JOHN]. Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe
compyled by J. Harrison [i.e. John Bale].
[Zurik] 1543. 4^o. (8^o). (BA I, p.112 no.195)⁴ STC
1309

18. BARBA, ALVARA ALONSO. The art of metals.
London 1674. 8^o. (BA I, p.99 no.230) Wing
B 678

19. [BARET, JOHN]. An alvarie or triple dictionairie
in Englishe, Latin and French.
London [1573]. fol. (4^o). (BA I, p.39 no.182) STC
1410

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2. Translations of English works

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- West Barbary. Oxford 1671. 8^o. Wing A 532
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- Meditations and disquisitions upon the Lords Prayer. London 1636. 4^o. STC 1223
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 - The anatomie of a christian man. London 1611. 4^o. STC 5912
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18. [DOWNAME?], JOHN. Hemel Vreughde, dat is een duydelijcke Beschrijvinghe van den Staet der Geloovigen. tot Dordrecht 1636. 12^o. (BA I, p.171 no.228)⁵
- [19. DOWNAME, JOHN. Von gottlästerlichen Gedancken. Auss Johann Downams Christenkampf. Cassel 1668. 12^o. (BA II, p.188 no.164)
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21. DYKE, DANIEL. Ses Evangelische Historien. 't Amsterdam 1653. 4^o. (BA I, p.47 no.272)
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Anglia. Amstelodami 1663. 12^o. (BA I, p.154 894.a.20.
no.30) [Wing B 1079]⁵
11. BASTWICK, JOHN. *Elenchus papisticae* Sha
religionis. Amstelodami 1634. 8^o. (BA II, 318
p.112 no.102) [Cf.STC 1571]
12. BEDA, VENERABILIS. *Commentarii in omnes Pauli*
epistolas. Venetiae 1543. 8^o. (BA II, p.137
no.365)

13. BEDA, VENERABILIS. Opus in Samuelem prophetam. Sha
Basileae 1533. fol. (BA II, p.7 no.95) B 445
14. BOATE, ARNOLD. De textus Hebraici Vet. Test. BLC
Parisiis 1650. 4^o. (BA II, p.29 no.93) 1012.b.22.(2.)
15. BOATE, ARNOLD. Observationes medicae. BLC
Helmstadii 1664. 4^o. (BA II, p.70 no.497) 1165.e.16.(6.)
[Wing B 3370]⁶
16. BOATE, ARNOLD and Tayler, Francis. Examen Sha
praefationis. Lugd. Bat. 1636. 12^o. B 585
(BA II, p.177 no.57)
17. BOYLE, ROBERT. Chymista scepticus. Roterodami BLC
1662. 8^o. (BA II, p.155 no.641) [Wing B 3932] 1036.a.26.
18. BOYLE, ROBERT. Conatus ad explicanda
phaenomena memorabilia in experimento publicata.
Amstel. 1662. 12^o. (BA II, p.199 no.306)⁷
19. BOYLE, ROBERT. De origine et virtutibus BLC
gemmarum. Hamburgi/Amstelodami. 1673. 12^o. 726.a.14.
(BA II, p.199 no.304) [Wing B 3956]
20. BOYLE, ROBERT. Exercitationes de atmo-sphaeris NUC NB
corporum consistentium. Lugd. Bat. 1676. 12^o. 0721232
(BA I, p.181 no.376) [Wing B 3957]
21. BOYLE, ROBERT. Historia fluiditatis et BLC
firmitatis. Amstelodami 1667. 12^o. (BA II, 8706.a.11.
p.199 no.306)⁸
22. BOYLE, ROBERT. [Nova] Experimenta physico- NUC NB
mechanica. Hagae Comit. 1661. 12^o. (BA II, 0721390
p.199 no.306) [Wing B 3998]⁹
23. BOYLE, ROBERT. Tentamina physiologica. BLC
Amstelodami 1667. 12^o. (BA II, p.199 no.306) 8706.a.11.
[Wing B 4046]
24. BOYLE, ROBERT. [Tractatus] De cosmicis rerum NUC NB
qualitatibus. Amstelodami 1671. 12^o. (BA II, 0721586
p.199 no.304) [cf.Wing B 4050]
25. BREREWOOD, EDWARD. Scrutinium religionum. BLC
Francofurti 1650. 12^o. (BA II, p.173 no.14) 701.a.27.(2.)
[STC 3618]¹⁰

26. BROUGHTON, HUGH. *Commentarius in Daniele* Sha
primum Anglice scriptus ab Hughone Broughtone. B 681
Basileae 1599. 4^o. (BA II, p.16 no.10)
[STC 3852?]¹¹

27. BROUGHTON, HUGH. *Concentus SS. Scripturae.* Sha
Hanoviae 1602. 4^o. (BA I, p.34 no.122) B 682
[STC 3850]¹²

28. BUCHANAN, GEORGE. *Paraphrasis psalmorum.* Sha
Antwerpiae ex off. Plant. 1571. 12^o. B 682
(BA I, p.193 no.524) [Cf.STC 3983]

29. BUCHANAN, GEORGE. *Poemata quae extant.* Sha
Lugd. Bat. 1628. 12^o. (BA I, p.191 no.510) B 705/6

30. BUCHANAN, GEORGE. *Rerum Scoticarum historia.* Sha
Francofurti 1594. 8^o. (BA I, p.123 no.568) B 752
[STC 3991]

31. CAMERON, JOHN. *Myrothecium Evangelium. Hoc* Sha
est Novi Testamenti loca. Genevae 1632. 4^o. C 32
(BA II, p.18 no.25)

32. CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS. *Metaphrasis et homiliae* Sha
in librum Salomonis, qui inscribitur C 137
Ecclesiastes. Amstelodami 1632. 4^o. (BA II,
p.16 no.5) [STC 4710]

33. CARVE, THOMAS. *Enchiridion apologeticum.*
[Solisbaci?] 1670. 12^o. (BA I, p.197 no.28)¹³

34. CARVE, THOMAS. *Itinerarium. Moguntiae 1639.* Sha
12^o. (BA I, p.156 no.65) C 138

35. CARVE, THOMAS. *Lyra sive anacephalaeosis* BLC
Hibernica. Sulzbaci 1666. 4^o. (BA I, p.28 286.a.18.
no.89)

36. CARVE, THOMAS. *Responsio veridica. Solisbaci* BLC
1672. 12^o. (BA I, p.197 no.29) G.5520.

37. CAVE, WILLIAM. *Tabulae quibus doctores* NUC NC
exhibentur. Hamburgi 1676. fol. (BA II, 0239730
p.14 no.19)[Cf.Wing C 1602/8]

38. CHARLETON, WALTER. *Spiritus gorgonicus. Lugd.* BLC
Bat. 1650. 8^o. (BA II, p.156 no.646) 1189.d.3.(4.)

39. [COSIN, JOHN]. *Historia transsubstantiationis papalis*. Bremae 1678. 8^o. (BA II, p.166 no.104) [Wing C 6358]
40. [DAVENANT, JOHN]. *Expositio epistolae Pauli ad Collosenses*. Amstelodami 1646. 4^o. (BA II, p.18 no.21) [STC 6296] NUC ND 0061313
41. *DE ABSOLUTO reprobationis decreto. Versio ex anglico*. Amstelodami 1640. 8^o. (BA II, p.121 no.182)¹⁴
42. DURIE, JOHN. *Appellatio ad tribunal*. Amstelodami 1665. 8^o. (BA II, p.112 no.101)¹⁵ NUC ND 0458030
43. DURIE, JOHN. *Consultationum Irenicarum Ἱεροσολωνικῶν*. Amstelodami 1664. 8^o. (BA II, p.112 no.101) BLC 1017.b.34.
44. DURIE, JOHN. *Irenicorum tractatum prodromus*. Amstelodami 1662. 8^o. (BA II, p.112 no.101) BLC 3925.a.28.
45. FENNER, DUDLEY. *Theologia sacra*. Amstelodami 1632. 12^o. (BA II, p.176 no.51) Sha F35
46. FORBES, PATRICK. *Commentarius in apocalypsin*. Amstelodami 1646. 4^o. (BA II, p.18 no.21) [STC 11149/50] BLC 3187.c.50.
47. GATAKER, THOMAS. *Antithesis partim G. Amesii*. Lugd. Bat. 1659. 12^o. (BA II, p.178 no.68) [STC 11650] NUC NG 0076177
48. GOODWIN, THOMAS. *Opuscula quaedam*. Heidelbergae. 1658. 8^o. (BA II, p.102 no.18) NUC NG 0327165
49. HALL, JOSEPH. *Meditatiunculae subitaneae. Henochismus*. Regiomont. 1672. 8^o. (BA II, p.162 no.13) [STC 12645]¹⁶ NUC NH 0053502
50. [HALL, JOSEPH]. *Mundus alter et idem*. Ultraiecti 1648. 12^o. (BA I, p.157 no.84) [STC 12685]¹⁷ Cf. BLC 1080.d.14. (1-3.)

51. [HALL, JOSEPH]. *Mundus*[alter et idem. Francofurti [Londini 1605?]] 8^o. (BA I p.124 no.577) [STC 12685]¹⁸ Sha
H 49
52. HARVEY, WILLIAM. *De motu cordis et sanguinis circulatione*. Roterdami 1661. 12^o. (BA II, p.198 no.294) [Wing H 1089]¹⁹ BLC
1169.a.16.
(2,3.)
53. HARVEY, WILLIAM. *Exercitationes de generatione animalium*. Amstelodami 1651. 12^o. (BA II, p.197 no.293) [Wing H 1091] BLC
234.a.30.
54. HERBERT, EDWARD. *De religione gentilium, errorumque apud eos causis*. Amstel. 1663. 8^o. (BA II, p.34 no.135) BLC
4505.b.17.
55. HIGHMORE, NATHANIEL. *De passione hysterica*. Amstelodami 1660. 12^o. (BA II, p.198 no.299) [Wing H 1968]²⁰ NUC NH
0361265
56. JEWELL, JOHN. *Adversus Thomam Hardingum volumen ... ex Anglico in Latinum conversum a G. Whitakero*. Genevae 1585. fol. (BA II, p.5 no.75) [NSTC 14607.5] Sha
J 168
57. JOHNSTON, ARTHUR. *Poemata omnia*. Middelb. Zeland. 1642. 16^o. (12^o). (BA I, p.189 no.475)²¹ BLC
11403.a.18.
58. JOHNSTON, ROBERT. *Historiarum libri duo continentes rerum Britannicarum*. Amstel. 1642. 8^o. (BA I, p.155 no.43) BLC
600.a.5.
59. LESLIE, JOHN. *De origine [moribus, et rebus gestis] Scotorum [libri decem]*. Romae 1578. 4^o. (BA II, p.60 no.401) Sha
L 61
60. LINACRE, THOMAS. *Procli Sphaera*. Venetiae 1501. fol. (BA II, p.12 no.159)²² Cf. Sha
L 301
61. MEDE, JOSEPH. *Prophetia apostolica I. Tim. IV 1-3 ex angl. versa a Jo. Schönewero*. Basileae 1656. 8^o. (BA II, p.115 no.119) [Cf.Wing M 1605]²³
62. MORE, THOMAS. *Dissertatio epistolica, de aliquot sui temporis theologastrorum ineptiis*. Lugd. Bat. 1625. 12^o. (BA II, p.178 no.167) Sha
M 214

63. MORE, THOMAS. *Utopia*. Amsterodami 1629. 12^o.
(BA I, p.167 no.189) Sha
M 241
64. OWEN, JOHN. *Epigrammatum*. Amstelodami 1630.
12^o. (BA I, p.189 no.481)²⁴ Cf. Sha
O 91/2
65. PARKER, ROBERT. *De politeia ecclesiastica*.
1638. 4^o. (BA II, p.36 no.142)²⁵ Cf. Sha
P 17
66. PERKINS, WILLIAMS. *De idolatria postremi*
huius temporis. Oppenheimii 1616. 8^o.
(BA II, p.127 no.241) [NSTC 19764]²⁶ Sha
P 124
67. PERKINS, WILLIAM. *Opuscula theologica varia ex*
Angl. versa. Hanoviae 1608. 8^o. (BA II,
p.118 no.151) [NSTC: see note]²⁷ Sha
P 138
68. PRYNNE, WILLIAM. *Fulcimentum gladii*
christianorum principum ex anglico in latinum
verso a Wolfgang Meyero. [Basileae]. 1649.
8^o. (BA I, p.129 no.616) [Wing P 4098]²⁸ BLC
8005.b.25.
69. RATIO constitutae nuper Reipublicae penes D.
Protectorem et Parlamentura ex anglico latine
versa. Hagae Com. 1654. 12^o. (BA I, p.156
no.57) [Wing R 300]²⁹ NUC NR
0068221
70. ROBINSON, JOHN. *Apologia pro Brownists*. Lugd.
Bat. 1644. 12^o. (BA II, p.178 no.67)
[Cf.NSTC 21108]³⁰
71. ROSS, ALEXANDER. *Virgilius triumphans*.
Roterodami 1661. 12^o. (BA I, p.157 no.83) BLC
11312.aa.6.
72. SANDERS, NICHOLAS. *De origine ac progressu*
schismatis Anglicani. Ingolstadii 1588. 8^o.
(BA II, p.128 no.256) Sha
S 14
73. SELDEN, JOHN. *De successionibus ad leges*
Ebraeorum. Lugd. Bat. 1638. 12^o. (BA II,
p.173 no.9) [NSTC 22169] Sha
S 192
74. SETTLE, DIONYSE. *Martini Forbissieri, Angli,*
navigaciones in regiones occidentis et
septentrionalis. Noribergae 1580. 8^o.
(BA I, p.138 no.722) [NSTC 22265]³¹ Sha
S 197

75. SINCLAIR, GEORGE. *Ars nova et magna gravitatis*. BLC
Roterodami 1669. 4^o. (BA I, p.54 no.373) 538.d.21.
76. SMITH, THOMAS. *De republica Anglorum*. Lugd. BLC
Bat. 1641. 12^o. (BA I, p.166 no.179) c.73.a.9.
[NSTC 22868]³²
77. STANYHURST, RICHARD. *De rebus in Hibernia* Sha
gestis libri IV. Antwerpiae ex. off. Plant. S 292
1584. 4^o. (BA I, p.28 no.89)
78. STANYHURST, WILLIAM. *De immortalis ...* BLC
historia. Antwerpiae 1660. 8^o. (BA II, 1216.a.4.
p.101 no.18)
79. STAPLETON, THOMAS. *De magnitudine Romanae* Sha
ecclesiae. Antwerpiae ex off. Plant. S 356
1599. 4^o. (BA I, p.19 no.8)
80. SYLLOGE variorum tractatum quibus Caroli, BLC
Magnae Britanniae Regis, innocentia illustratur. 807.c.26.
[Collected by John Cooke]. Amsterodami 1649.
4^o. (BA I, p.25 no.65)³³
- TAYLER, FRANCIS. See CB 16.
81. TAYLOR, THOMAS. *Christus revelatus*. Lugd. Bat. BLC
1661. 8^o. (BA II, p.115 no.128) [NSTC 23821]³⁴
82. VERGIL, POLYDOR. *Anglicae historiae*. Basileae Sha
1570. fol. (BA II, p.6 no.85) [Cf. NSTC 24654] V 16
83. WALLIS, JOHN. *Grammatica linguae Anglicanae*. NUC NW
Hamburgi/Amsterodami 1672. 8^o. (BA I, p.105 0048965
no.307) [Wing W 584]
84. WALTON, BRIAN. *Biblicus apparatus*. Tiguri BLC
1673. fol. (BA II, p.14 no.17) G.12097.
85. WALTON, BRIAN. *Dissertatio de linguis* BLC
orientalibus. Daventriae 1658. 12^o. (BA II, 58.a.12.
p.173 no.15)
86. WHEAR, DIGGORY. *Relationes hyemales*.
Noribergae 1660. 12^o. (BA I, p.186 no.443)
[NSTC 25328]

87. WHITAKER, TOBIAS. De sanguine uvae. Francofurti
1655. 8^o. (BA II, p.157 no.658) [NSTC 25356]³⁵

88. WHITAKER, WILLIAM. Disputatione de S. Scriptura. NUC NW
Herbornae 1603. 8^o. (BA II, p.128 no.254) 0245171
[NSTC 25366]³⁶

89. WHITAKER, WILLIAM. Praelectiones de conciliis Cf. Sha
contra pontificios. Herbornae Nass. 1601. 8^o. W 51
(BA II, p.117 no.133) [NSTC 25367]³⁷

90. WHITAKER, WILLIAM. Praelectiones in controversam Sha
de Rom. pontifice. Hanoviae 1608. 8^o. (BA II, W 54
p.126 no.230) [NSTC 23568]

91. WILLIS, THOMAS. De anima brutorum. Amstelodami NUC NW
1674. 12^o. (BA II, p.197 no.292) [Wing W 2825] 0339153

92. WOTTON, SIR HENRY. Epistola de Casp. Scioppo.
Ambergae 1613. 8^o. (BA I, p.85 no.109)

CHAPTER I

- 1) The main accounts of the lives of Christoph and Andreas Arnold are to be found in the following biographical lexica: Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1750-1751) (hereafter Jöcher); Andreas Würfel and Christian Hirsch, *Verzeichnis der Herrn Prediger, Schaffer ... etc.* (Nürnberg, 1756); Georg Andreas Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Nürnberg, 1755-1758) (hereafter Will), Amarantes (Johann Herdegen), *Historische Nachricht von des löblichen Hirten- und Blumen-Ordens an der Pegnitz Anfang und Fortgang* (Nürnberg, 1744); Johann Caspar Wetzel, *Hymmopoeographia, oder, historische Lebensbeschreibung der berühmtesten Liederdichter* (Hernnstadt [Nuremberg], 1719-1728); Matthias Simon, *Nürnbergisches Pfarrerbuch. Die evangelisch-lutherische Geistlichkeit der Reichsstadt Nürnberg und ihres Gebietes 1524-1806* (Nürnberg, 1965); Georg Jakob Schwindelius, *Lampradologia Norimbergensis* (Nürnberg, 1706); *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875-1912) (hereafter ADB). Unless indicated otherwise the biographies of the Arnolds in the present chapter have been based on the works mentioned above.
- 2) For a history of the University of Altdorf see H.C. Recktenwald "Aufstieg und Niedergang der Universität Altdorf" in H.C. Recktenwald (ed.) *Gelehrte der Universität Altdorf* (Nürnberg, 1966), pp.11-49, and H. Kunstmann *Die Nürnberger Universität Altdorf und Böhmen* (Köln, 1963), pp.1-19.
- 3) The sources are not in conformity regarding this date. Jöcher, Will, and ADB give 12 April, Wetzel, Würfel, The Archives of the Pegnesischer Blumenorden and Simon, 13 April 1627. Arnold himself mentions 12 April as his birthday in a brief note to S.A. Fabricius (Erlangen University Library, Briefsammlung Trew, Briefe von Christoph und Andreas Arnold, 1).
- 4) The two main categories of divines in the principal Lutheran churches of Nuremberg were "Prediger" and "Diakone". The former were the highest in rank and their main task was preaching. Diakone were in charge of various other duties (including preaching).
- 5) *Epistolische Kirchen-Arbeit, oder Zusammenstimmung der Episteln und Evangelien* (Nürnberg, 1662). Two of Caspar Arnold's funeral sermons were printed, one on Sam. Aichelin (1664) and one on Johann Michael Dilherr's wife Maria (1664).
- 6) Published in Chr. Ad. Rupertus *Orator historicus* (Norib. 1663). It was the custom to publish *orationes* and *disputationes* under the name of the professor who had supervised the student (in

- this case Ruprecht). ADB interprets this event as Arnold's graduation but this took place in 1649.
- 7) Printed in a collection of similar theses (Altd. Samml. Phs XXII (24.), Erlangen University Library).
 - 8) Johann Paul Felwinger (1616-1681), Professor of Metaphysics.
 - 9) Henceforth the Pegnesischer Blumenorden will, for convenience sake, be referred to as Pegnitz Order.
 - 10) Founded in 1617 after the example of the Florentine *Accademia della Crusca*. Members were Sigismund Betulius (Von Birken), Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Justus Georg Schottelius and others.
 - 11) Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Dresden, 1887), III, 5.
 - 12) Curt von Faber du Faur, *German Baroque Literature: a Catalogue of the Collection in the Yale University Library* (New Haven, 1958-1969), I, 135.
 - 13) Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg, Archives of the Pegnitz Order.
 - 14) See p.11 of the present chapter and p.100, chapter IV.
 - 15) The founders of the society, Harsdörffer and Klaj, took their names, Strephon and Clajus, from the *Arcadia*. In the preface to the first joint-poem of the Pegnitz Order, the *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht* (1644), Harsdörffer mentions Sidney. Cf. G.K. Waterhouse, *The literary relations of England and Germany in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, 1914), p.35.
 - 16) Cf. Amarantes, *Historische Nachricht* (Nürnberg, 1744).
 - 17) London, British Library, MS. Egerton 1324.
 - 18) As cited by M.A.E. Nickson, *Early Autograph Albums in the British Museum* (London, 1970), p.9.
 - 19) As cited by M. Rosenheim, *The Album Amicorum* (Oxford, 1910), p.308.
 - 20) A full survey of the album, with the names of the authors arranged in chronological order of the entries, is given in part three of this chapter. A complete edition of Christoph's album and that of his son Andreas (see note 47) will be published in the near future.
 - 21) Cf. Bruno Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutsche Geschichte*, 9th ed., ed. Herbert Grundmann (Stuttgart 1970-1976), II, 245.
 - 22) The complete text of Arnold's dedication is the following:
 "Zueignungsschrift An Den Hochwolgebornen Herrn, Herrn *Carol Gustav Wrangeln*, Herrn zu Schogkloster, Rossdorp und Bremer-vörde der Königl. Majestät und Reiche Schweden Rath, General-FeldMarschallen in Teutschland, auch GeneralGouverneurn in Pommern: Und An Den HochEdlen und Gestrengen Herrn *Lorentz Von der Linden*; der Königl. Majestät und Reiche Schweden bei dero Armeen in Teutschland wolbestellten GeneralMajorn bei der Infanterie." The dedication is followed by a poem about the heroic deeds of Wrangel and Von der Linden in the war. Wrangel (1613-1676) was Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish troops in

Germany at the end of the Thirty Years' War. Arnold's dedication shows a remarkable resemblance with the title of a laudatory poem on Wrangel by his friend and fellow-member of the Pegnitz Order, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer. It had been published in October or November 1648 under the title *Lobgesang Dem Hoch-Wolgebornen Herrn Carl Gustav Wrangel Herrn zu Schog-Kloster und Rosstorp etc. Der Königl. Majest. und Reiche Schweden Reichsrath Generaln und Feldmarschalln in Teutschland etc.* The poem brought Harsdörffer into conflict with the city government of Nuremberg since it was considered a threat to Nuremberg's neutral position. See Dietrich Jöns, "Literaten in Nürnberg und ihr Verhältnis zum Stadregiment in den Jahren 1643-1650 nach den Zeugnissen der Ratsverlässe" *Stadt-Schule-Universität-Buchwesen und die deutsche Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. A. Schöne (München, 1976), pp.84-98.

- 23) Georg Hornius, *Rerum Britannicarum libri septem, quibus res en Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia ab anno 1645 bello gestae, exponuntur* (Lugd. Bat., 1648). The second book Arnold refers to is H. Reggii [i.e. Georg Hornius] *de Statu Ecclesiae Britannicae, liber commentarius. Una cum appendice eorum, quae in Synodo Glasguensi contra Episcopos decreta sunt* (Dantisci, 1647).
- 24) Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena, or a catalogue* (London, 1646). Cf. EB 92 and *Epistolae Selectiores Georgii Richteri* (Norib., 1662) (hereafter ES), p.471.
- 25) See ES, p.474.
- 26) See ES, p.476. Claudius Salmasius's work *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I* was published on the Continent at Charles II's expense in November 1649. See chapter II of the present study, pp.48-49, W.R. Parker, *Milton, A Biography* (Oxford, 1968), II, 962, and David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (London, 1877), IV, 166.
- 27) Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius, *Bediedinge van de afgodinne Nehalennia, ontdekt op het strand van Walcheren* (Leiden, 1647).
- 28) See ES, pp.477, 478, 479.
- 29) See ES, pp.480-481. Arnold refers to the funeral of Stadtholder William II (1626-1650). William died in The Hague on 6 November 1650 but the funeral took place in Delft on 8 March 1651.
- 30) See ES, p.481 and chapter II, p.48-49.
- 31) See the appendix to chapter II, p.62, for Arnold's trip to Belgium and the crossing to England.
- 32) Sigismund Betulius refers to Arnold's projected edition of Cato's work in an introductory poem to the *Kunstspiegel* (see p.5). The full title of the work is *V. Cato. Dirae. Christophorus Arnoldus ex editionibus & emendationibus variorum expressit, & representavit. Accedit eiusdem ad omnia poetae commentarius liber* (F. Hackii, Lugd. Bat., 1652).
- 33) See Nürnberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv, Kirchenbuch St. Sebald,

S.790.

- 34) For a complete list of these hymns see Goedeke, op. cit., III, 187-188.
- 35) The *Nürnberg Gesangbuch* (1677) contains the following hymns by Arnold: "Lasst uns beständig trachten", "Schau, liebe Seel, wie Gott dich liebt", and "Wilkomm mein Heiland".
- 36) Cf. Julius Pirson, "Die Beziehungen des Pariser Arztes Charles Patin zu Nürnberger Freunden und Gönnern 1633-1693", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 49 (1959), pp.290-291. Patin was a good friend of the Nuremberg physician Johann Georg Volckamer, who drew Patin's attention to the Arnolds.
- 37) The Duke of Brunswick, Anton Ulrich (1633-1714), was a great stimulator of learning. His tutors were Schottelius and Betulius and he was a correspondent of Christoph Arnold.
- 38) Leopold (1640-1705). Regent of Austria from 1655 to 1704 and German Emperor from 1658-1705. His "court-scholar" was Peter Lambeck who was a great collector of coins and antiquities. Christoph Arnold edited a catalogue of Lambeck's library during the last year of his life.
- 39) Würfel, op. cit., and Will give a list of correspondents. Apart from the people mentioned in the text we find the following names: Meibom, Vaillant, Schurzfleisch, Wagenseil, Spitzel, Vorst, the rabbis Meyr and Enoch. Some of Arnold's correspondents are known from other sources. In the Bodleian Library (Oxford) there is a letter from Arnold to Selden, the British Library (London) has a letter from Arnold to Meric Casaubon, in the library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam we find a letter to Junius, in Leyden (University Library) and in The Hague (Kon. Bibliotheek) there are letters to Tennulius, in Erlangen (University Library) to Fabricius and Volckamer and in Hamburg (University Library) to Boecler and Carpzov. In print there are letters to and from Whelock, Blondellus, Ursinus, Snellius and Weisius. Moreover, the correspondence between Christoph and Andreas provides many more names of correspondents, e.g. Mordaunt Webster, Theodore Haak, Elias Ashmole, David Loggan, Joh. Zach. Kneller. See also the bibliography.
- 40) Cf. St. Sebald Taufbuch, 1668, pp.668-689, as quoted by A. Müller, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg, 1146-1945* (Nürnberg, 1968), pp.115-116.
- 41) See Müller, op. cit., p.112.
- 42) See Jöcher, col.1677 and Elias von Steinmeyer, *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf* (Würzburg, 1912), s.v. De Pomis.
- 43) Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg (hereafter SBN), Autogr. 858-902.
- 44) See e.g. his correspondence with the physician J.G. Volckamer (Erlangen UB, Briefsammlung Trew) and with his son (SBN Autogr. 858-902), especially in the years 1683-1685.
- 45) Cf. Schwindel, op. cit., and chapter I, p.12 and p.26 of the

present study.

- 46) Most people mentioned here completed entries in Andreas's album and the relevant data can be found in part 3 of this chapter. The only one who, for obvious reasons, is not to be found there is Johann Conrad Dürer (1625-1677), Professor of Theology at Altdorf.
- 47) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS. 226 Blankenburg. See also note 20.
- 48) See SBN Autogr. 866 (6-4-1683).
- 49) See chapter IV, p.100.
- 50) As early as August 1678 Christoph mentions Andreas's plans to come to Holland in a letter to Nicolaus Heinsius and he asks Heinsius to receive and help his son, a request repeated in his letters to Heinsius in the years 1678-1680. These letters are printed in P. Burmannus, *Sylloge Epistolarum* (Leidae, 1727), V, 342-347.
- 51) See Leyden, University Library, MS. Burm. F. 6b. The MS. contains nine letters from Andreas to Heinsius, ranging from 11 July 1680 to 18 March 1681.
- 52) Constantijn Huygens wrote his entry in Andreas's album on 1 Nov. On 5 Nov. Andreas sent a letter to Huygens to thank him. Half a year later, on 5 April 1681, Andreas asked permission to visit Huygens's library and on 5 May Huygens replied with a short note. See J.A. Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, VI, RGP 32, (Den Haag, 1917).
- 53) These letters are to be found respectively in the Bodleian library, Oxford (MS. Smith 46, ff.165-170) and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (Kon. Akad. Handschr. 76 B 27).
- 54) During his stay in France Andreas wrote several letters to Isaac Vossius. They can be found in the library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam, MS. RK III E10^{42,61,46,32,56,57}; University Library, Leyden, Burm. Codex No. 11^{II}, ff. 96r-97r, 98v, 103v-104v, 358v-359v; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. D'Orville 470, ff. 170-172, 175, 185-187. Most of the letters in Oxford and Leyden are copies of the ones in Amsterdam.
- 55) Etienne Baluze (1630-1718), collector of books, librarian in the service of Colbert; Emery Bigot (1626-1689), collector of books, corresponded with many scholars, especially Nicolaus Heinsius; Jean Baptiste Cotelier (1627-1686); Gilles Ménage (1613-1692), famous scholar; Melchisédech Thevenot (1620-1692), traveller, devoted himself to study after his travels, became librarian of the King's library in 1684; Pierre Petit (1617-1687) author of Latin poetry. Many of these people are frequently referred to in Christoph's and Andreas's correspondence.
- 56) Andreas Arnold's work is e.g. mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Telleriana* (Paris, 1693).
- 57) As quoted by Schwindel.
- 58) The name is illegible.

- 59) Unidentified.
- 60) Unidentified.
- 61) Jöcher gives 1647 as the date of Hagelgans's death but this must be wrong.
- 62) Unidentified.
- 63) Moller signs 13 Oct. but considering the dates of the other entries this must be 23 Oct. The difference is perhaps due to old and new style of dating.
- 64) Unidentified.
- 65) For Herman Capellen see chapter I, p.9.
- 66) The entry bears the date 1 July 1650 but this must be a mistake. In his letter to Richter of 2 August 1650 Arnold states that he first called on Hornius in Harderwijk, then paid a visit to Gronovius, and on the way back met Gisbertus ab Isendoorn.
- 67) Unidentified.
- 68) Unidentified.
- 69) See *Íslenskár Aeviskrár frá Landnámstímum til Arsloka 1940*, ed. Pall Eggert Ólason (Reykjavík 1948-1952), V Bindi, s.v. Arngrimus, Th.
- 70) Unidentified.
- 71) Unidentified.
- 72) The first of a series of Greek divines visiting Arnold from 1665-1673. Arnold wrote a small MS. note book about these visitors "Berichte über durchreisende Griechische Geistliche 1669-73)". For Iosaphat see Arnold's preface to Elias Veiel's *Defensio exercitationis de ecclesia Graecanica hodierna* (Frankfort, 1666), in which he gives an account of this Greek visitor.
- 73) Unidentified.
- 74) See pp.11-12.
- 75) Petrus Vervosius wrote this entry a day after his wedding in Arnold's church in Nuremberg. Arnold adds a long Latin text to Vervosius's Greek entry in which he gives this information and an account of Vervosius's travels since 1667, during which Vervosius spent eight months in the hands of Sicilian "barbarians".
- 76) Unidentified.
- 77) See note 65.
- 78) Unidentified, cf. the Greek visitors to Chr. Arnold.
- 79) Unidentified.
- 80) Unidentified.
- 81) For Ludolf see chapter III, pp.76-77.
- 82) For Abendana see chapter III, p.78.
- 83) Ibid.
- 84) For Arnoldi see chapter III p.83.
- 85) The folio of the album on which Fell's entry can be found shows this number. It is in fact the first folio of the album.

- 86) Unidentified.
- 87) See chapter III, p.80, p.84, and p.87-88.
- 88) Ibid.
- 89) See for the problem of Seaman's death note 36 to chapter III.
- 90) Fürer von Haimendorf was making a tour of Europe at about the same time. Andreas met him several times during his years abroad (in Holland, England and France). Later Christoph Fürer became President of the Pegnitz Order.

CHAPTER II

- 1) See the appendix to this chapter for a translation of this letter, originally written in Latin and printed in *Georgii Richteri Epistolae Selectiores* (Norimbergae, 1662), pp.482-494. The date of the letter (7 August, old style) presents a number of difficulties. In the letter Arnold states that he is frequently in the company of Hermann Mylius, the envoy of the Count of Oldenburg in London. Mylius, however, did not arrive in England before 26 August (cf. his diary). A second difficulty is that Arnold quotes from Selden's entry in his album, which is dated 9 August, old style. It is also strange that, although Arnold mentions visits to Oxford and Cambridge in his letter, there are not any traces of these early visits, whereas for later visits to Oxford and Cambridge there is ample evidence. On the other hand, there are also elements in the letter that require a date early in August. There is a reply from Richter dated 22 August and reference is made to the Royalists Love and Gibbons awaiting their execution (which took place on 22 August). Perhaps this long letter from England is a combination of two letters. Another possible explanation could be that Arnold added information to the letter (perhaps from his private notes) at a later date. He would have been in a position to do this since he himself was the editor of the *Epistolae Selectiores*. For convenience sake we will continue to refer to the letter as Arnold's letter to Richter of 7 August 1651.
- 2) See p.22.
- 3) Flavius Josephus (c.37-c.95?), Jewish historian and military commander. His great historical work *Jewish Antiquities* (Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία) contains accounts of John the Baptist and Jesus. A passage in which Jesus is described as "the Christ" caused much discussion as to its authenticity and Christoph Arnold collected the opinions of a great many scholars regarding this passage.
- 4) The collection is called *Testimonium Flavianum*. XXX *Epistolae philologicae et historicae de Flavii Josephi Testimonio, quod Jesu Christo tribuit*. Lib. XIIIX. Antiq. cap. IV. Christophorus Arnoldus fideliter illas recensuit (Noribergae, 1661). The

letter referred to is letter no. XVIII, Whelock to Arnold, Cantabrigiae, 12 August 1651. It might be interesting to note that the Roman Catholic authorities objected to this work to the extent of including the book in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

- 5) See notes 37, 39 and 40 of the appendix to chapter II.
- 6) The gift is recorded in Ch. Sayle, *Annals of Cambridge University Library 1278-1900* (Cambridge, 1916), p.79. Sayle gives the wrong year: 1650. It should be 1651.
- 7) See Will, I, 39.
- 8) Wheloc adds to his Old English text "Sax. Hom." I have not been able to locate it.
- 9) See appendix, p.62.
- 10) Ibid.
- 11) See Bodleian Library, MS. Wood E5, register of foreign visitors to the Bodleian Library.
- 12) See A. Wood, *Life and Times*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford, 1891), I, 170: "Oxford is being fortified since an attack by Charles and the Scots is expected [Charles arrived in Worcester on the 22nd]. In New College a garrison is billeted. They built a new fort in the middle of New College Lane and plucked down a wall of Queen's College. This began on Monday Morning, August 18, and was finished on Thursday Night, August 21. The King was expected to enter the town by Thursday or Friday Night."
- 13) London, British Library, MS. Burney 369.
- 14) See George H. Turnbull, *Samuel Hartlib. With special regard to his relations with J.A. Comenius* (London, 1919), pp.56-58.
- 15) See appendix, pp.64-65.
- 16) The "Dutch Secretary" is identified as Johan Oste in Mylius's diary (Oldenburg Staatsarchiv, Tit. XXXXVIII, no.73).
- 17) A meeting of the Protestant States about Church unity. See Gunner Westin, *Negotiations about Church Unity* (Uppsala, 1932), pp.150, 169-72, 243-4.
- 18) ES, p.494.
- 19) Probably W. Prynne is meant here. The year before Prynne had attacked Durie in *The Time-Serving Proteus* (London, 1650).
- 20) Probably Mr. Gerard Schaep. He was sent to England in 1650 by the States of Holland in order to establish new diplomatic relations with the English Commonwealth and to promote Dutch interests. He returned in 1651 without results. See A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Haarlem 1852-1878), s.v. G. Schaep.
- 21) See appendix, p.63.
- 22) Cf. Mylius's Diary (note 16).
- 23) See appendix, p.65.
- 24) See appendix, p.64.
- 25) See Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, s.v. Thomas Smith.
- 26) The Anglo-Saxon text in Junius's entry is the following:

"Se þe wuldrige, wuldrige on god aelmihtigne & na on hine sylfne: God eadmod geworden is. Forscunige man ofermod beon." This is based on St. Paul's second letter to the Corinthians, chapter X, verse 17. "But he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."

- 27) See ES, pp.496-518, and chapter II of the present study, pp.55-56.
- 28) See appendix, p.64.
- 29) See appendix, p.62.
- 30) See K. Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton* (Oxford, 1979), p.82. The introduction to the *Cottonian Catalogue* of 1802 states that Sir Thomas Cotton's daughter-in-law removed the library to her home at Shalton, Bedfordshire, in 1650. Arnold's letter demonstrates that this must either have occurred after 1651, or that it could have been a portion of the library (perhaps the printed books).
- 31) See ES, pp.496-518.
- 32) See appendix, p.71.
- 33) See appendix, p.73 and list 1 and 3 at the end of chapter IV.
- 34) See R. Parr, *The life of J. Usher* (London, 1686), and C.R. Elrington, *The life of Archbishop Ussher* (1847). These works contain hundreds of letters (including many addresses) from and to Ussher.
- 35) See appendix, p.63.
- 36) EB 124, 125 and LB 81.
- 37) See appendix, p.64.
- 38) Polybius (c.204-122 B.C.), Greek historian. He wrote a famous history in forty books about the rise of the Roman Empire. Isaac Casaubon was an expert on Polybius and his notes were used for a number of editions (for his notes see also the Bodl. Cat. of Greek MSS.). Hackius edition of Polybius apparently did not come to anything.
- 39) London, British Library, MS. Burney 369.
- 40) See ES, p.481 (4 April 1651).
- 41) See W.R. Parker, *Milton, a biography* (Oxford, 1968), I, 386-7.
- 42) See Parker, op. cit., I, 387 and Masson, op. cit., IV, 317.
- 43) Ibid.
- 44) Ibid.
- 45) See appendix, p.63.
- 46) That is to say, if we assume that this part of the letter was written as early as 7 August (see note 1).
- 47) See Parker, op. cit., I, 401-3.
- 48) London, British Library, MS. Egerton 1324, Album Christoph Arnold, f.85v.
- 49) See Masson, op. cit. IV, 353.
- 50) See appendix, p.68.
- 51) See appendix, p.67.
- 52) See appendix, p.68.

- 53) See C.H. Firth in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Th. May.
- 54) See appendix, pp.69-70.
- 55) Mylius's diary, 11 September 1651. This is another indication that at least part of Arnold's letter dates from a period after 7 August.
- 56) See appendix, p.71 and the corresponding notes.
- 57) See ES, pp.496-518 (16 December 1651).
- 58) ES, p.494.
- 59) ES, pp.496-518.
- 60) Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599), poet, author of *The Faerie Queen*: Thomas Phaer (or Phayer) (1510-1560), lawyer, physician and translator of Latin and French works; Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), poet and soldier, author of *Arcadia*; Thomas Tusser (1524?-1580), agricultural writer and poet; Ben Jonson (1572-1632), poet and playwright; John Davies of Hereford (1565?-1618), poet and writing-master; Sir John Harington (1561-1612), translator and satirist, godson of Queen Elizabeth.
- 61) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Selden Supra 108.
- 62) David Blondel (1591-1655), French Protestant clergyman, succeeded G.J. Vossius as Professor of History in Amsterdam in 1650.
- 63) See also appendix, p.72.
- 64) Amsterdam, Municipal University, MS. RK M81.
- 65) In Will, Jöcher etc. the Nuremberg edition is referred to as *Relectiones historicae*.
- 66) See Wing R 1971-1978.
- 67) Bernhard Varenius (1622-1650). Author of *Geographia Generalis* (Amst. 1650), which made him famous. It is a pioneering geographical work. Isaac Newton edited it in 1672. Other works by Varenius are *Descriptio Regni Japoniae* (1649) and *Tractatus de religione Japonicorum* (1649).
- 68) For Richard Verstegen's fame on the Continent and the distribution of his works see E. Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen. Een polemist der Contra-Reformatie* (Brussel, 1933), A.G. Petti, *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegen* (London, 1959, Catholic Record Society Vol. LII), and J.M. Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer* (Nijmegen thesis 1979, Catholic Record Society Monograph 3, 1982). As a matter of fact Verstegen's work was well-known on the Continent.
- 69) The edition used by Christoph Arnold is probably the one in his library (EB 302), London 1628, 4^o, NSTC 21362.
- 70) Edward Herbert, *De religione gentilium* (Amstelodami 1663; CB 54); Meric Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis* (Londini 1650; LB 37); William Camden, *Remaines* (London 1623; EB 57); John Skene, *De verborum significatione* (London 1641; EB 256).
- 71) See chapter I, p.4 and p.13.
- 72) First published 1685 (EB 42).

- 73) For the Latin and German translations of Browne's works and his reputation in Germany see G. Waterhouse, *The literary relations of England and Germany in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, 1914), pp.91-96. A complete edition of Browne's works with extensive notes about the several editions is the one by Geoffrey Keynes (London 1964, first edition 1927).
- 74) See Waterhouse, op. cit., p.124.
- 75) See Basil Willey, *The seventeenth century background* (London 1979, first edition 1934), pp.44-57.
- 76) ES, pp.476-477.
- 77) Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius (1612-1653), *Bediedinge van ... etc.* See chapter I, note 27.
- 78) Witte: *Suppressio nomine suo confecit: Relationem historicam de Quakeris, cum praefatione de veteri & moderno Ecclesiae Anglicanae Statu.*
- 79) For Jöcher and Will see chapter I, note 1.
- 80) Cf. p. 194 of the *Historia Bibliothecae Fabricianae*:
"II. Historia fanaticorum, videl. antiquorum Anabaptistarum & novorum Quakerorum edita Londini A. 1660 & ex Anglico in Germanicum idioma translata; a quonam? a Christoph Arnoldo cuius etiam est praefatio. Vide Witteum in *Diar. Biograph.*"
- 81) Chr. Kollman ed. (repr. Marburg, 1974).
- 82) Cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wood E5: Figken was admitted to the library on 20 June 1660.
- 83) Cf. pp.194-5 of the *Historia B.F.*: "Et primum Historia haec germanice prodiit Noribergae 1661".
- 84) For Wetzell, see chapter I, note 1.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

- 1) For the complete Latin text of this letter see ES, pp.482-494. In Masson, op.cit., some few translated extracts of this letter are included (IV, 350-352).
- 2) Laurent Chifflet (1598-1658). For the works of this Belgian Jesuit see Backer, A. and A. de, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, New Edition by C. Sommervogel (Bruxelles-Paris [1890-1932], reprinted Louvain 1960).
- 3) Johann Friedrich der Grossmütige (1503-1554). German prince, Elector of Saxony and prisoner of Charles V from 1547 till 1552.
- 4) Probably *G. Richteri ... Orationum decas* etc. (Norimbergae, 1638).
- 5) Since 1635 France had been involved in a war with Spain which was mainly fought on the border of France and the Spanish Netherlands. The war was to last till 1659.
- 6) Arnold states that he embarked on a "navis praetoria". It is

not clear what we should imagine here. Probably we need not think of a specific ship.

- 7) The gardens of Arundel House.
- 8) Cf. *The Old Royal Library* (British Museum, London 1957), p.8: "... in 1650 a new librarian was appointed in the person of John Durie, a Scottish divine educated in Holland, who had published a practical treatise on librarianship called *The Reformed Librarian's Keeper*. Durie's tenure was, however, interrupted, and he achieved but little, although a catalogue of the printed books and a few manuscripts was made about 1650-1652 ...".
- 9) See p.43 and the corresponding note for the "Dutch Ambassador".
- 10) Gerhard John Vossius (1577-1649). Famous scholar, canon of Canterbury, but resident in Holland where he was Professor of History at Amsterdam. Cf. C.S.M. Rademaker, *Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)* (Zwolle, 1967).
- 11) Arnold is probably referring to the following work by Junius which, however, was not published until far into the eighteenth century: *Etymologicum Anglicanum. Ex autographo descripsit et accessioneibus permultis auctem edidit E. Lye. Praemittuntur vita auctoris et grammatica Anglo-Saxonica* (Oxoniae, 1743).
- 12) For a bibliography of G.J. Vossius's works see C.S.M. Rademaker, op. cit. In the case of "Origines" (and in some more cases below) it did not prove possible to relate the titles given by Arnold to any published works.
- 13) First edition Amsterdam 1645 (BA I, p.27 no.78).
- 14) First edition Amsterdam 1635 (BA I, p.27 no.79).
- 15) First edition Amsterdam 1654 under the title *De veterum poetarum temporibus libri duo, qui sunt de poetis Graecis et Latinis*.
- 16) There is a work called *De Philosophia et Philosophorum Sectis, Libri duo* (Hagae Comitum, 1658), which seems to combine the two titles. It is present in Arnold's library (BA I, p.27 no.80). In Vossius's collected works *Opera* (Amst. 1701), there is no work called *De Philosophia et Philosophorum Sectis*. Part of *De Artium & Scientiarum Natura ac Constitutione Libri quinque, antehac diversis titulis editi* (Lib. V) is called *De Philosophia* and this is followed by a work called *De Philosophorum Sectis liber*.
- 17) Not published as a separate work. In *Opera* (1701) there is, however, a part (Vol VI, part VIII) entitled *Fragmentum de Manicheis & Stoicis, nunquam antehac editum*.
- 18) First edition Amsterdam 1654.
- 19) First edition Leyden 1623. The second edition (1653) is in Arnold's library (BA I, p.27 no.81).
- 20) Published in The Hague (1659) under the title *Chronologiae Sacrae Isagoge*.

- 21) Published in "Bellositi Dobunorum" [i.e. Oxford] in 1628 (LB 212).
- 22) Not published. The MS. is in the Library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam (RK III B3).
- 23) The full title of this work, published in Amsterdam in 1656, is *Harmoniae Evangelicae de passione, morte, resurrectione, ac adscensione Iesu Christi, Salvatoris nostri, libri tres* (ed. F. Junio).
- 24) Perhaps incorporated in *Harmoniae* (note 23). Book III of the latter work has the following subtitle ... *in quo agitur de Iesu Christi Resurrectione & adscensu in Coelos*.
- 25) Unidentified. Part of *Harmoniae*?
- 26) First edition Amsterdam 1654.
- 27) Not published. The MS. is in the Library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam (RK III B5 (b)).
- 28) First edition Amsterdam 1669 (BA I, p.69 no.77).
- 29) "De Gradibus ministrorum" and "De Primatu Petri" were not published. The MSS. are in the Library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam (RK III F10 (a) and RK III G40).
- 30) This work was perhaps incorporated in *De Theologia Gentili* (see full title in note 31) although there is no trace of the "ac praecipue Ponteficia" part of the title.
- 31) *De Theologia Gentili et physiologia Christiana sive De origine ac progressu idololatriae* (first complete ed. Amst. 1668, BA I, p.15 no.65). The first four books were published in Amsterdam in 1641.
- 32) This same "oikonomia" or scheme occurs at the beginning of *De Theologia Gentili*. It gives both the structure of Vossius's work and a rough idea of its contents. Vossius wants to give a survey of the non-christian religions and the several forms of idolatry. First of all a distinction is made between on the one hand the worship of real objects, spirits, living beings, feelings, virtues etc. and on the other hand a symbolic form of worship of "idoli, statuae, signi". By far the greater part of Vossius's work deals with the former kind of cult. Successively he discusses the worship of spirits and demons, celestial bodies, human beings, animals, plants, stones and metals. After that, under the heading "universalis sive totius mundi" and "partim spiritualis, partim corporea", we find a description of the several forms of pantheism, and finally, in Book VIII, Vossius gives a survey of the gods of "spes, desperatio, labor, iustitia, pietate, clementia, fortitudine etc." Cf. Rademaker, op. cit, p.249.
- 33) Thomas Howard (1586-1646), the second Earl of Arundel, a famous art collector and diplomat, undertook an unsuccessful mission to the Emperor Ferdinand in order to procure the restitution of the Palatinate to the young Elector, Charles I's nephew Charles Louis. Mr. Fox was apparently one of his companions.

- 34) Cf. Charles Carracioli in *The Antiquities of Arundel* (London, 1766): "... to whose [i.e. Thomas Howard] liberal charges and magnificence, this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greek and Roman statues, with whose admired preference he began to honour the garden and the galleries of Arundel House." In the gardens of Arundel House, situated in Arundel Street, off The Strand, London, a collection of 37 statues, 128 busts, 250 inscribed marbles and many sarcophagi, altars and fragments were put on display. Selden described the marbles in his *Marmora Arundelliana* (London, 1628) which description was incorporated in H. Prideaux's *Marmora Oxoniensa* (1676; the marbles were later transferred to Oxford). Cf. LB 11 and LB 125.
- 35) Cf. M.R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge*: "...The original home of the College Library was on the first floor, south of the gate of entrance to the First Court. Quite early in the seventeenth century, projects for a new and larger library building were being discussed, as early, probably, as 1615. But it was not until 1624 that the munificent benefactor (at first anonymous) of John Williams, then bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper, enabled the college to undertake the erection of the present splendid building in the Third Court. The furnishing of the new Library and the transfer of the books seems to have been completed in 1628".
- 36) Richard Sibbes, puritan divine and professor at Cambridge.
- 37) Maimonides, or Moses ben Maimon (1135-1204), a Jewish philosopher and physician. He is the author of *Mishne-Torah*, a kind of religious codex in fourteen books. Arnold probably refers to this work (*Sophne* might be a synonym for *Mishne*). Editions of the *Mishne-Torah* were published in Venice in the early sixteenth century.
- 38) Probably books severely damaged through the practice of cutting off the edges of the pages to get paper for binding other books (called "circumcision" by Christoph Arnold).
- 39) Cf. William Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1901): "Two leaves of paper, fullest size about 9 in. by 6½, fragments of the Lexicon of Bar Bāhlul in Syriac (Nestorian) and Arabic (add 2070)." The manuscript was particularly valued by Whelock.
- 40) William Bedwell (c.1562-1632) is the father of Arabic studies in England. On his death he bequeathed a MS. Arabic Lexicon with types for printing to the library. The Lexicon as such was never printed, however. See Ch. Sayle, *Annals of Cambridge University Library 1278-1900* (1916), p.72.
- 41) Domitius Ulpianus (fl.211-222, died in 228 A.D.), Roman jurist.
- 42) Julius Paulus, prominent Roman jurist. The period of his activity was in the early third century. He is the author of a great many works.

- 43) Veneleius Saturninus. Roman jurist, probably second half of the second century.
- 44) Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). The work referred to is *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (Paris, 1625).
- 45) Gehenna was the name of a valley south of Jerusalem, the city garbage dump, where dead animals were thrown and refuse burned. In the Bible it became an image for the place of final punishment of the wicked, in the New Testament it always means hell and eternal punishment (Cf. *Dict. of the Bible*).
- 46) Flavius Claudius Julianus (331-363) commonly called Julian the Apostate, Roman Emperor. He tried to restore the old pagan religion.
- 47) Arnold refers to a work by Theodoret of Cyr (393-c.466), Antiochian theologian, bishop and controversial Church Father, *Theodoretii Episcopi Cyri Ecclesiasticae Historiae Libri Quinque* (Book III, chapter 7).
- 48) Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus (245-313), Emperor of Rome from 284 till 305. The end of his reign was memorable for his persecution of the Christians.
- 49) Gaius Julius Caesar (12-41), Emperor of Rome from 37-41. He was notorious for his cruelty.
- 50) John Greenwood (?-1593) and Henry Barrowe (?-1593) were two independent divines opposed to the Anglican system of Church government and in favour of congregationalism. They were sentenced to death and executed together for publishing and distributing seditious books.
- 51) Scholasticism, which was largely Aristotelian, was till far into the seventeenth century dominant at Oxford and Cambridge. (See e.g. W.T. Costello S.J. in his work *The Scholastic Curriculum at early seventeenth Cambridge*, Harvard UP 1958).
- 52) Arnold uses the word "Anglican" for shilling. A "Philippicum" is probably a Spanish coin.
- 53) Mr. White: unidentified.
- 54) Thomas Hill (?- 1653) preached before the Westminster Assembly and at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, was Rector of Little Tichmarsh, Northamptonshire, till 1645 Master of Emmanuel College and afterwards of Trinity.
- 55) Roger Drake (1608-1669), physician and divine. He was a rigid presbyterian, implicated in Love's plot (see note 56), but released.
- 56) Christopher Love (1618-1651), a puritan minister, arrested on 14 May 1651 together with a number of other people accused of plotting against the government. Love was sentenced to death as was a few days later another man named Gibbons, who had also joined in the movement. They were executed on 22 August 1651.
- 57) Hugh Peters (1598-1660), independent divine and army chaplain. As one of the leading figures in the Commonwealth he was executed in 1660. He published in July 1651 *Good work for a good*

magistrate (EB 220).

- 58) A nickname given to an antinomian movement appearing about 1644. They were vigorously dealt with by Acts of Parliament.
- 59) The trappist of antiquity.
- 60) Probably Richard Cox who was bishop of Ely, lived from 1500 to 1581 and was one of the most active of the English reformers.
- 61) Thomas May (1595-1650). Poet, author of *Lucan's Pharsalia*, or the Civil Wars of Rome (1627), and of a history of the English parliament, published both in Latin and in English, *Historiae Parlamenti Angliae Breviarium, tribus partibus explicitum* (1650).
- 62) Arnold made a mistake in copying the epitaph. May died in November 1650, not in 1651 (it was only August 1651 when Arnold wrote this letter!)
- 63) i.e. Lex 8 "De Falsis" from the *Digest*, a collection of extracts from the earlier jurists, compiled by order of the Emperor Justinian. Lex 8 can be found in Book 48, title 10.
- 64) The *Codex Theodosianus*. The compilation of this code was ordered by Theodosius VI, Emperor of the East (403-5).
- 65) A collection of laws begun by Basil I, Emperor of the East from 867-886 (he lived from 812-886).
- 66) Thomas Violet (fl.1634, died 1662), writer on trade, goldsmith and alderman of London. He made proposals for rectifying abuses at the Mint.
- 67) The full title of this pamphlet is *An humble declaration to the ... Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, touching the transportation of gold and silver, and other abuses practised upon the Coynes and Bullion of this Realm* (London, 1643).
- 68) Cf. LB 62.
- 69) The British Library Catalogue gives the titles *Analecta Anglo-Britannica* and *Janus Anglorum in quo prophanum Anglo-Britanniae jus succincte proponitur* and refers to *Metamorphosis Anglorum* etc. (The Hague, 1653). Since the letter was written in 1651 it seems unlikely that Arnold had this edition in mind.
- 70) *Joannis Seldeni de successionibus in bona defuncti, liber singularis* (Londini, 1631). NSTC 22169.
- 71) *Joannis Seldeni de jure naturali & gentium, juxta disciplinam Ebraeorum, libri septem* (Londini, 1640). NSTC 22168.
- 72) Londini 1646, Wing S 2443.
- 73) The three titles mentioned here can be found in one volume published in London in 1647. Cf. BLC 508.c.11.; Wing F 1290 (A); LB 70.
- 74) London 1642, Wing E 3440.
- 75) Cf. LB 181.
- 76) London 1650, Wing S 2425.
- 77) Cf. EB 252.
- 78) Cf. EB 251.
- 79) Cf. EB 207.
- 80) Cf. EB 210.

- 81) *The duello or single combat* (London, 1610), NSTC 22171.
- 82) *The priviledges of the baronage of England* (London, 1642) Wing S 2434.
- 83) *Probably Prenobilis militis Forescu [sic] de politica administratione et legibus civilibus commentarius* [1546?], NSTC 11193.
- 84) London 1644, Wing M 2092.
- 85) Cf. LB 186.
- 86) Cf. LB 187.
- 87) Cf. EB 262.
- 88) *Henrici Spelmanni equit. Anglo-Brit. Archeologus. In modum glossari ad antiquam posteriorem* (Londini, 1626), NSTC 23065.
- 89) Cf. LB 208.
- 90) Dublin 1639, NSTC 24548a.
- 91) Cf. LB 207.
- 92) Cf. LB 209.
- 93) Cf. LB 206.
- 94) The full title of this work in the British Library Catalogue makes clear that the Oxford-London edition of 1644-7 is meant. (BLC E. 512.).
- 95) London 1647, Wing I 39.
- 96) This is the full title of the summary of the contents of the *Appendix Ignatiana*.
- 97) London 1650, Wing U 147.
- 98) Cf. LB 205.
- 99) Cf. EB 295.
- 100) Cf. EB 296.
- 101) Oxford 1643, Wing U 177.
- 102) Cf. LB 83.
- 103) Cf. LB 48.
- 104) Cf. LB 47.
- 105) Cf. LB 38.
- 106) Unidentified.
- 107) London 1648, Wing N 1322.
- 108) Cf. LB 90.
- 109) Unidentified.
- 110) Arnold refers to *Articuli Lambethani: id est, I. Articulorum Lambethae exhibitorum Historia. II. Articuli de Praedestinatione et annexis captibus a D. Whitakero Lambethae proposti. III. Idem prout ab Episcopis Theologisq[ue] concepti et admissi. IV. Lanceloti Andrewes, ... de Synodo oblatis Articulis Judicium; una cum eiusdem Censura Censurae D. Barreti, de Certitudine salutis. Quibus annexa est v. sententia D. Overal ... de Praedestinatione ... Cura & impensis F.G. Ecclesiae Sti. Nicolai apud Trinobantes Ministri* (Londini, 1651), BLC c. 110. a. 13.(3.).
- 111) Cf. LB 92.
- 112) Cf. LB 93.
- 113) London 1648, Wing H 399.

- 114) Perhaps *Praelectiones in duobus in Theologia controversis captibus* (Cambridge, 1631), STC 6301.
- 115) Thomas Morton (1564-1659), bishop of Durham; John Davenant (1576-1641), bishop of Salisbury; Joseph Hall (1574-1656), bishop of Exeter, later of Norwich.
- 116) Arnold refers to Durie's *De pace inter evangelicos procuranda sententiae quatuor* (Londini, 1638). Cf. LB 61.
- 117) London 1648, Wing D 2877.
- 118) London 1649, Wing D 2886.
- 119) Cf. EB 89.
- 120) Cf. EB 88.
- 121) *The first (second) tome or volume of the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Newe test. Gt. Bible test. fol. E. White-church* (1548-9), STC 2854.
- 122) Arnold dates "Londini a.d. 7 Aug. A.S. 1651". Milton French in his *Life Records of John Milton* (New Brunswick, 1949-58) maintains that a.d. 7 Aug. means seven days before the beginning of August (i.e. 26 July). This does not seem very likely. In the same letter Arnold states that he left for England on "a.d. 6 Jul." and arrived on "a.d. 10 Jul." and here Milton French's explanation would imply that Arnold travelled back in time. (See also p.185, note 1 for the problem of the dating of this letter).

CHAPTER III

- 1) See e.g. the following entries in Andreas's album: Fred. Be-haim von Schwarzbach (f.63); Joh. Chr. Dietherr (f.239); Theod. Ryckius (f.189).
- 2) For Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf see Joachim Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Rusland* (Berlin, 1955).
- 3) See MS. Wood E5, Oxford, Bodleian Library.
- 4) See A. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses or Annals of the University of Oxford*. The Second Part. Ed. Ph. Bliss (London, 1820), col. 382.
- 5) See Tetzner, op. cit. Heinrich Wilhelm's uncle Hiob was also acquainted with Bernard and corresponded with him.
- 6) See Jöcher, s.v. Zitschler.
- 7) See MS. Wood E5.
- 8) Cf. Wing A 1233-1237. See also Cecil Roth, *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (London, 1937), pp.157-158.
- 9) See MS. Wood E5.
- 10) See E. & E. Haag, *La France Protestante* (Paris, 1846-59), s.v. Bauldrey.
- 11) SBN Autogr. 864 (23-2-1683).

- 12) See p.33, chronological list of entries in Andreas's album.
- 13) Cf. the MS. text in Andreas Arnold's work *Denarius S. Petri* (Altdorf, 1679) in Cambridge University Library (shelfmark 2.24.67).
- 14) i.e. strain, spell of music or poetry.
- 15) SBN Autogr. 886 (24-10-1684).
- 16) Cf. Thomas Seccombe in DNB, s.v. Isaac Vossius.
- 17) SBN Autogr. 858 (14-7-1682) and 902 [June 1682].
- 18) The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Handschrift no. 76 B 27.
- 19) See note 77.
- 20) See note 54 to chapter I for Andreas Arnold's letters to Vossius and chapter I, p.15 and the corresponding note for Menagius and Thevenot.
- 21) Library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam, RK III E10⁴² (Paris, 26-12-1682). For Ismael Bullialdus or Boulliau (1605-1694), French scholar and astronomer, see also H.J.M. Nellen, *Ismael Boulliau 1605-1694, nieuwsjager en correspondent* (Nijmegen, 1980).
- 22) Leonhard Rauwulf or Rauwolff (d.1606), a German from Augsburg. He travelled to several countries in the Middle East and wrote a work about these travels (Laugingen, 1582-1583). Vossius was interested in a Latin translation of this book, originally written in German. Andreas called in the assistance of his father and of Thevenot to find such a translation but unsuccessfully. Eventually Andreas and Thevenot decided to send the German version of Rauwolff's work for which they engaged the services of Mr. Littlebury, a travelling bookseller from England. See Andreas's letter to Vossius of 25 June 1683, Municipal University of Amsterdam, RK III E10⁶¹. For Littlebury see also chapter IV, p.118 and the corresponding note.
- 23) NNBW states about Beverland: "Rijk en buitengewoon geleerd misbruikte hij beide gaven door zijn onzedelijke geschriften." (Vol VII, col. 126). He was banished from Leyden in 1677 because of a publication in which he expressed his doubts about original sin, and from Utrecht for a lampoon against the authorities and for his loose way of living.
- 24) A. Wood, op. cit., col.334.
- 25) A letter to Beverland is in the Library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam (RK III E10⁵⁷).
- 26) Cf. H.R. Tedder in DNB, s.v. Paul Colomiès.
- 27) The catalogue is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS. Tanner 271). The catalogue is printed in Edward Bernard's *Cat. Libb. MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae* (1697), ii pt.1, p.57ff.
- 28) SBN Autogr. 897a [Aug. 1683].
- 29) For Haak's work as a translator and his relations with people from Nuremberg see chapter IV, p.100 and pp.117-118. Cf. also P.R. Barnett, *Theodore Haak* (The Hague, 1962).

- 30) See Th. Birch, *The History of the Royal Society* (London, 1756-57), IV, 62.
- 31) See Birch, op. cit., IV, 89, 131, 163, 199, 435.
- 32) See Royal Society MS. Letter Books, I, viii, p.471.
- 33) SBN Autogr. 864 (23-2-1683).
- 34) SBN Autogr. 863 (30-1-1683).
- 35) See Birch, op. cit., IV, 161.
- 36) SBN Autogr. 864 (23-2-1683).
- 37) Cf. Cluver's entry in Andreas's album, f.49.
- 38) SBN Autogr. 902 [June 1682].
- 39) That is to say, there is a reference to a Nicolaus Arnoldi (1618-1680), Professor of Theology at Franeker in David van Hooqstraten and Jan Lodewijk Schuer, *Groot Algemeen Historisch, Geographisch, Genealogisch Woordenboek* (Amsterdam, Utrecht, 's-Gravenhage, 1733), I, 34. Nicolaus Arnoldi was of Polish descent and was born in Lesna. Simon Johann Arnoldi described himself as "Lesna Polonus" and it seems therefore not unlikely that he was Arnoldi's son.
- 40) Like Durie, Jablonski was a great advocate of the union of the Evangelical churches. His father was son-in-law of Comenius and had been secretary to John Durie for seven years. Jablonski belonged to the Church of the Bohemian Brethren and Charles II had founded two scholarships for members of this church at Oxford. Jablonski was probably at Christ Church. Cf. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill eds., *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948* (London, 1967), pp.109-112.
- 41) See MS. Wood E5 and chapter I, p.33.
- 42) Smith was ejected from Magdalen under James II and became a non-juror under William III. For twelve years he was librarian of the Cottonian Library.
- 43) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Smith 46, ff.165-166.
- 44) See chapter I, p.9.
- 45) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Smith 46, ff.169-170.
- 46) The entry presents us with a mystery. According to H. Thomson Lyon in DNB William Seaman died in October 1680 and since Andreas arrived in England not before the summer of 1681 there must be something wrong with the date of Seaman's death as given in DNB.
- 47) SBN Autogr. 902 [June 1682].
- 48) SBN Autogr. 858 (14-7-1682).
- 49) Evidence for this offer is also to be found in A. Würfel, *Lebensbeschreibung aller Herren Geistlichen etc.* (Nürnberg, 1756-61), s.v. Johann Conrad Feuerlein.
- 50) SBN Autogr. 859 (8-9-1682). "Krummhextigter" is a regional adjective meaning "bow-legged".
- 51) Ibid. "Steinkohle" (coal) is perhaps a pun on the name Feuerlein, but see also note 53.
- 52) Ibid.

- 53) Würfel, op. cit.: "Diese Bedienung [the post of organist], weil es so viel als die Würde eines Professoris bedeutet, hätte er bey nahe auf ein Jahr lang angenommen. Weil sich aber von denen Stein-kohlen, bei ihm, eine Schwindsucht ansetzte, so eilte er im Nov. besagten Jahrs wieder zu Hause, besprach sich in Frankfürth mit Dr. Spenern, und kam den 2. Jan. 1683 glücklich in Nürnberg an." Thus the reason for Feuerlein's return was exactly the one that Christoph Arnold had maliciously hoped for half a year before (see p.86).
- 54) SBN Autogr. 863 (30-1-1683).
- 55) SBN Autogr. 864 (23-2-1683).
- 56) SBN Autogr. 869 (8-6-1683).
- 57) SBN Autogr. 864 (23-2-1683), 865 (30-3-1683), 866 (6-4-1683), 867 (20-4-1683).
- 58) Arnold uses here a Jewish term. Bar mitzvon (Bar mitzvah), one obliged to keep the commandments, "son of the commandment". It is the name given to the non-obligatory Jewish religious initiatory rite practised in different countries and groups, and connected with the assumption of responsibility by a boy at the age of thirteen.
- 59) SBN Autogr. 902 [June 1682].
- 60) SBN Autogr. 861 (6-10-1682).
- 61) SBN Autogr. 876 (20-4-1683). The title of the work as given in the letter is *Durrii Tract. de Libb. Symb. Norimb.* Arnold refers to J.C. Dürr, *Tractatus theologici tres* (Norimb., 1675). The second of the three tracts is entitled "Isagoge in Libros Normales seu Symbolicos Ecclesiae Noribergensis".
- 62) Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), "virtuoso" and collector of curiosities and art.
- 63) SBN Autogr. 888 (7-11-1684). For Imhof see chapter IV, pp.118-119.
- 64) SBN Autogr. 893 (6/16-2-1685).
- 65) See note 18 of the present chapter.
- 66) SBN Autogr. 877 (30-11-1683).
- 67) Library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam, RK III E10⁵⁷.
- 68) Hampton is presumably John Hampden jr. (1656?-1696). While in France he was suspected of cooperation with the Protestants but it is not clear from the account in DNB whether he spent some time in the Bastille.
- 69) Forde, third Baron Grey of Werk (d.1701). He was a zealous exclusionist and fought on the side of Monmouth.
- 70) SBN Autogr. 894 (20-2-1685).
- 71) SBN Autogr. 869 (8-6-1683).
- 72) The complete list of the contents of the "cistula Anglicana" will be given in an appendix to this chapter.
- 73) SBN Autogr. 889 (28-11-1684).
- 74) SBN Autogr. 882 (6/16-6-1684).
- 75) SBN Autogr. 883 (27-6-1684).

- 76) SBN Autogr. 894 (20-2-1685).
- 77) The full title of this work is *S. Athanasii Archiep. Alex. Syntagma Doctrinae ad clericos et laicos. Valentiniani et Marciani imp. Epistolae duae ad Leonem M. Theodori Abucarae tractatus de Unione et Incarnatione* (Paris, 1685). The *Syntagma Doctrinae* was wrongly ascribed to Athanasius (cf. J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 28, 836 and 1639). Andreas Arnold was aware of the problem of Athanasius authorship and he discusses it in a letter to Vossius of 25 June 1683 (Library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam, RK III E10⁶¹).
- 78) This description can be found in Edward Bernard's *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti cum Indice Alphabetico* (Oxford, 1697), under the heading "Codices Manuscripti Isaaci Vossii" no. 2135 (tom. II, p.58).
- 79) Theodorus Abucara or Abu Qurra, bishop of Harran in Mesopotamia. The period of his activity was c.800. A number of tracts in Greek and Arabic have survived, usually of a polemic nature. One of his tracts in Arabic deals with the incarnation. (Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1962), V, 65.). The Greek MS. used by Andreas is in the Bodleian Library, MS.Barocci 76, f.56.
- 80) Epistula 73 in the correspondence of Pope Leo the Great (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 54, 899) dating to the end of August or the beginning of September 450. It is a letter of about 20 lines, extant in Greek and Latin. The text used by Andreas Arnold is to be found in the Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci 111, f.164b.
- 81) Letter to Isaac Vossius (Paris, 1-4-1685), Library of the Municipal University of Amsterdam, RK III E10³².
- 82) See chapter I, p.15.
- 83) E.g. a letter from Christian Weise to Andreas Arnold d.d. 16 Nov. 1685, printed in *Christiani Weisii Epistolae Selectiores* (Budissae, 1717).
- 84) Bodleian Library, MS.Eng. Letters misc. 29, f.13 (Augsbourg, 3/13-2-1689/1690).
- 85) See Charles Welch in DNB, s.v. Sir Humphrey Edwin.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

- 1) SBN Autogr. 876 (9-11-1683).
- 2) Cf. LB 39.
- 3) Cf. CB 59.
- 4) Cf. LB 86.
- 5) Edmund Halley, *Catalogus Stellarum Australium* (London, 1679), Wing H 451. It is not present in BA.
- 6) *Catalogus librorum [e] bibliothecis selectissimis doctissimorum virorum, viz. D. Radulphi Button ... D. Thankful Owen ...*

Accessit in fine bibliotheca Reverendi viri D. Gulielmi Hoeli Susseriae. Quorum auctio habebitur Londini ... septimo die Novembris 1681, etc. 3 pts. [London] 1681 (BLC 11906.e.25.). See also chapter IV, p.117.

- 7) *Bibliotheca Smithiana: sive catalogus* (London, 15 May 1682). Wing S 4151. The library of bishop Richard Smith. See also Chapter IV, p.117.
- 8) Probably the following sermons: Richard Wroe, *The beauty of unity* (London, 1682), Wing W 3726; Anthony Horneck, *Gods providence* ([London] 1682), Wing H 2832; William Battie, *A sermon preached at Sudbury* (London, 1680), Wing B 1159; [Gilbert Burnett], *The conversion & persecutions of Eve Cohan* (London, 1680), Wing B 5772. Edward Stillingfleet published a great number of sermons so it is difficult to tell which one is meant here.
- 9) [John Maxwell], *Sacrosancta Regum majestas*, probably the 1680 edition (Wing M 1385). Cf. EB 197.
- 10) It is obvious that Arnold does not like this book but it is not quite clear what he objects against. Maxwell (1590?-1647) was a Scottish bishop strongly in favour of Charles I and episcopacy.
- 11) Cf. EB 247.
- 12) Cf. EB 316.
- 13) Cf. EB 65.
- 14) Cf. EB 40 (R.B. = Richard Broughton).
- 15) George Treby, *Truth vindicated: or a detection* (London, 1681), Wing T 2107 . Not in BA.
- 16) Unidentified.
- 17) J.C. Sturm, *Scientia cosmica sive astronomica* (Norimbergae, 1670).
- 18) J.C. Sturm, *Architecturae militaris tyrocina* (Altdorfii Noricorum, 1682).
- 19) L.Fr. Reinhart, *Synopsis theol. Christ.* (Noribergae, 1661).
- 20) J.C. Dürr, *Compendium theologico moralis* (Altdorfii, 1675).
- 21) Considering the fact that Christoph Arnold worked in Cambridge University Library he may have collated his Greek testament with the Codex Bezae.
- 22) J.M. Dilherr, *Weg zu der Seligkeit* (Nürnberg, 1646).
- 23) An edition of the comedies of Terence by Thomas Farnaby (1651?).
- 24) An Italian edition of the letters of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio, probably the one in BA, Venice 1669 (BA I, p.194 no.539).
- 25) Cf. EB 94.
- 26) Theses published at Oxford (Sheldonian Theatre).
- 27) The two catalogi plantarum by John Ray, cf. LB 166 & 167.
- 28) A portrait or engraving of the Russian envoy? Andreas Arnold was acquainted with David Loggan and the Kneller brothers (Joh. Zach. and Godfrey), well-known engravers and painters.
- 29) Verpättschirt i.e. sealed.

- 30) Eunomius of Cyzikus, literary defender and leader of Neo-Arianism, second half of the fourth century. His *Apology* dates from 361. (See J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, Antwerp, 1960), III, pp.306-309.)
- 31) Unidentified. Perhaps Johannes Moschos.
- 32) Andreas Arnold copied MSS. in Isaac Vossius's library. This is a letter by Johannes Zonaras (12th century), commander of the imperial guard in Byzantium. Later he retired to a monastery and wrote a history of the world from Adam to the year 1118. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, München, 1893-1972).
- 33) Giovanni Pontani (b.1422 or 25 - d.1503). Prose writer, poet, royal official.
- 34) Andreas's work *Denario S. Petri* (Altdorf, 1679).
- 35) Cf. chapter III, p.90.

CHAPTER IV

- 1) Full title: *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana; sive Catalogus librorum quos viri post fata etiam celebratissimi Christophorus et Andreas Arnoldi ... collegerunt*. [Nuremberg] 1725. Two copies were consulted for this study (the only ones known to be extant), respectively one in the Free Library of Philadelphia and one in the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg.
- 2) Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Traubuch St. Sebald Jg. 1698, S.146.
- 3) See Jöcher, III, 382.
- 4) Ibid.
- 5) Her name does not occur in the "Beerdigungsbücher" of the two main churches of Nuremberg, St. Lorenz and St. Sebald.
- 6) See the preface to the *Bibliotheca Arnoldiana* by Jungendres.
- 7) See e.g. SBN Autogr. 868 (4-5-1683): "Lass dich nicht mit all zu vielen Bücher ein, sondern bleib fein bei den guten, die ich dir fürnehmlich vorgeschrieben".
- 8) See chapter III, p.82.
- 9) Gilbert Waterhouse, *The literary relations of England and Germany in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, 1914).
- 10) L.M. Price, *The Reception of English Literature in Germany* (Berkeley, 1932), p.15.
- 11) See e.g. Johannes Wallman, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen, 1970), p.16; H. Leube "Die Einwirkung anglikanischer religiöser Literatur auf die deutschen Reformbestrebungen", *Reformideen*, 1924, 3. Abschnitt, pp.162-180; Martin Schmidt, *Wiedergeburt und neuer Mensch. Gesammelte Studien zur Geschichte des Pietismus* (Witten, 1969), e.g. the second essay "Die Geistliche Bad-Cur Wolfgang Mayers in Basel

- (1649) und ihr literarischen Vorbild: Thomas Taylors Traktat *A man in Christ or a new Creature*"; Paul Grünberg, *Philipp Jakob Spener*, 3 vols (Göttingen, 1893-1906); Heinrich Heppe, *Geschichte des Pietismus und der Mystik in der Reformierten Kirche, namentlich der Niederlande* (Leiden, 1879).
- 12) Spener is frequently mentioned as Christoph's correspondent in the latter's letters. Cf. Autogr. 858, 860, 861, 862 etc.
 - 13) See chapter I, p.30.
 - 14) See Wallman, op. cit and Heppe, op. cit.
 - 15) See H.L. Benthem, *Engeländische Kirch- und Schulenstaat* (Lüneburg, 1694), chapter V, par.2.
 - 16) See J.W. Wietfeld, *The Emblem Literature of Johann Michael Dilherr (1604-1669)*, Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs Nürnberg, Band 15, 1975, p.19.
 - 17) See Waterhouse op. cit., p.103.
 - 18) SBN Autogr. 859 (8-9-1682), letter Christoph to his son in London.
 - 19) BA II, p.129 no.270.
 - 20) See Waterhouse op. cit., p.108, the dates are 1688 and 1663 respectively.
 - 21) Jeremiah Dyke's name is mentioned in Waterhouse, op. cit. (pp. 106-107), but not in connection with the works mentioned here.
 - 22) See a letter of Wolffgang (or Wolfgang) Mayer to James Ussher, printed in Ch. R. Elrington, *The Life of Archbishop Ussher* (1847), vol. 16, letter CCCCXL;
 - 23) See M. Schmidt, op. cit.
 - 24) See chapter II, p.72.
 - 25) SBN Autogr. 858.
 - 26) *Wahrhaftige Beschreibungen dreyer mächtigen Königreiche, Japan, Siam und Corea. Benebenst noch vielen andern ... Sachen, so mit neuen Anmerkungen ... von Christoph Arnold vermehrt, verbessert und geziert. Denen noch beygefügt J.J. Merkleins ... Ost-Indianische Reise, welche er im Jahre 1653 vollendet.* (Nürnberg, 1672); Abraham Rogers, *Offne Thülr zu den verborgenen Heydenthum* (Nürnberg, 1663).
 - 27) SBN Autogr. 865.
 - 28) *Lof-Sangh op het Geestelick Houwelick* (Utrecht, 1650); *Werelts begin, midden, eynde* (Utrecht, 1646); *Toneel van de mannelicke achtbaerheyt* (1632). BA I, p.110 no.358 and BA I, p.178 no. 328, respectively.
 - 29) BA I, p.178 no.325-327, p.171 no.220, p.203 no.149.
 - 30) Martin Opitz (1597-1639), *Von der Teutschen Poëterey* (Frankfurt, 1640) (BA II, p.195 no.260), and *Teutsche Poemata*, (Geda, 1640) (BA II, p.138 no.373; Daniel Georg Morhof (1639-1691), *Teutsche Gedichte* (Kiel, 1682) (BA II, p.167 no.110), and *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache* (Kiel, 1682) (BA II, p.167 no.111).
 - 31) For a survey of this section see Waterhouse, op. cit., pp.119-

122. Morhof gives even more information about English authors in his *Polyhistor, Sive de Notitia Auctorum et rerum commentarii* (1692). In this work he also quotes from Arnold's London letter to Richter (chapter VII, p.67).
- 32) Cf. SBN Autogr. 875 (26-10-1683).
- 33) SBN Autogr. 889 (28-11-1684).
- 34) Since Christoph Arnold does not give any details (he simply refers to the work as "Coles") it is impossible to say what edition was used (the first edition is London 1667, Wing C 5068).
- 35) SBN Autogr. 866. The next sentence in Arnold's letter is also worth quoting: "Und in dem ich den Coles aufschlagen will, finde ich ungefehr das vorangelegte, schlimmste Pamphlet wider den Oat, so ich mit Lust gelesen". The presence of a pamphlet against Titus Oates ("der Oat") in Coles's dictionary suggests that the book was only recently bought in England.
- 36) SBN Autogr. 875 (26-10-1683): "Hab ihm[Şturm] ferner geliehen des Ridderi Engl. Lex. da er etwas de magnete lesen will, so ihm die Soc. Reg. geschickt."
- 37) See appendix to chapter II, p.62ff.
- 38) See appendix to chapter II, pp.69-70.
- 39) SBN Autogr. 869 (8-6-1683) (English flowers in his garden); SBN Autogr. 875 (26-10-1683) (Grew); SBN Autogr. 897a [August-September 1683].
- 40) See list of contents "cistula anglicana" p.94.
- 41) Thompson Cooper in DNB, s.v. Robert Balfour.
- 42) It is not the only work by Thomas More in list 4. There is another work, *Dissertatio epist. de aliq. sui temporis*, also in a Dutch edition (Leyden 1625; CB 62).
- 43) Cf. Waterhouse, op. cit., STC, BLC, DNB.
- 44) Waterhouse, op. cit., p.42.
- 45) Waterhouse, op. cit., p.55.
- 46) LB 16.
- 47) See chapter II, pp.48-49.
- 48) BA I, p.158 no.86.
- 49) BA II, p.153 no.588. I have not been able to find the English original. No author is given in BA.
- 50) BA I, p.165 no.156.
- 51) Leyden, 1648. BA I, p.96 no.207.
- 52) Two well-known Dutch auction catalogues of about the same time, the *Bibliotheca Heinsiana* (1683) and the *Catalogus librorum Constantini Hugenii* (1688), differ considerably as to the number of English books they contain. The library of Nicolaus Heinsius contained only fifteen books in the English language whereas Huygens possessed several hundreds of English books.
- 53) The figures for these years are: 1648: 11; 1649: 14; 1650: 25; 1651: 26. The contrast is obvious when we see the figures for

- the three following years: 1652: 2; 1653: 0; 1654: 1.
- 54) SBN Autogr. 876 (9-11-1683). The list is given in an appendix to chapter III.
 - 55) SBN Autogr. 902 1C [June 1682].
 - 56) See SBN Autogr. 868 (4-5-1683); SBN Autogr. 897a [August-September 1683]; SBN Autogr. 883 (27-6-1684).
 - 57) For Johannes Graef (1629-1698) see e.g. SBN Autogr. 876; for J. Ch. Sturm (1635-1703) see SBN Autogr. 863, 875, 887; for Jakob Wilhelm Imhoff (1651-1728) see SBN Autogr. 859 (see chapter IV, p.100); for Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688) see SBN Autogr. 864. More data about these people can be found in part 3 of chapter I (survey of the alba of the Arnolds).
 - 58) See Waterhouse, op. cit., pp.115-116. Elias Ashmole makes several times mention of Nuremberg visitors (see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmolean 1136 "notes by E. Ashmole taken during his life", especially the years 1683 and 1684).
 - 59) Conrad Feuerlein (1629-1704) SBN Autogr. 865; for Sturm see notes 36 and 57; Johann Wülffer (1651-1724) SBN Autogr. 876.
 - 60) Sturm was one of the correspondents of Haak to whom he sent several books which were passed on to the library of the Royal Society (e.g. *De Cartesianis et Cartesianismo*). A portrait of Sturm hung in the Society's meeting-room as early as 1684. See P.R. Barnett, *Theodore Haak, F.R.S. (1605-1690)* (The Hague, 1962), p.151. A paper about magnetism by Georg Christoph Eimmart (1638-1705) was sent through Andreas Arnold to the Royal Society where Haak presented it at the meeting of 25 November 1685. See Th. Birch, *The History of the Royal Society* London (1756-1757), IV, 435. The paper is printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, no.178, p.1235.
 - 61) Von Sandrart and the Arnolds were in touch with David Loggan (1635-1700), artist and engraver of the University of Oxford (from 1676 engraver at Cambridge), and with Sir Godfrey Kneller and his brother Johann Zacharias (see SBN Autogr. 868, 880, 898). On his way home after a trip to Italy Godfrey Kneller visited Nuremberg where he painted numerous portraits. His brother was with him and they must have met the Arnolds and Von Sandrart during that time.
 - 62) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmolean 1136.
 - 63) SBN Autogr. 858 (14-7-1682).
 - 64) The works of Marcus Velserus (or Welser) (1588-1614), a scholar from Augsburg. The full title of the work in question: *Marci Velseri Opera Historica et Philologica nec non Vita, Genus, et Mors Auctoris Nobilissima Accurante Christophoro Arnoldo* (Nurembergae, 1682).
 - 65) Probably the well-known London book-seller of that name (1652-1685). Christoph states that Littlebury was passing through Nuremberg on his way to Italy. Andreas Arnold mentions his name in a letter to Isaac Vossius of 25 June 1683 (Library of the

Municipal University of Amsterdam, RK III E10⁶¹) and although it is not absolutely certain, it looks as if Littlebury visited France as well. He certainly had contacts with Andreas and Thevenot. Nothing is known about trips to Germany, Italy and France, however. Cf. L. Rostenberg, *Publishing, printing, & bookselling in England (1551-1700)* (New York, 1965).

- 66) SBN Autogr. 861 (6-10-1682). The following books are probably meant: Catal. Bodl. : *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Oxonii, 1674); St. Jamblichus: *Iamblichi ... de mysteriis liber* (Oxonii, 1678); Marm. Arund.: *Marmora Arundelliana* (London, 1628); Lydiat Canones Chronol.: Thomas Lydiat, *Canones Chronologici* (Oxonii, 1675). "Oxonien. Antiqq." is less easy to identify. One could think of Brian Twyne's *Antiquitatis academiae Oxoniensis apologia* (1608), but a more obvious candidate is A. Wood's *Historia et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (1674).
- 67) Cf. Bernard Fabian "English books and their eighteenth century German readers", *The Widening Circle*, ed. P.J. Korshin, Univ. of Penn. Press 1976, p.140: "One of the natural consequences of the visits of German scholars and men of letters to England was the gradual emergence of fairly close-knit circles of colleagues and friends who would assist each other in procuring the books they needed for their work. The frequent offers for help in their correspondences seem to imply that then (as now) the supply of books across the Channel in either direction was not without difficulties and that these could best be overcome by a personal call for help." Christoph and Andreas Arnold and their friends show that also in the seventeenth century mutual help in this form was of the greatest importance.
- 68) In list 1 there is one post-1685 book (EB 61) and in list 3 there are three (LB 25, 108, 157).
- 69) That is to say, there is one work, a map of the Alsace (BA I, p.139 no.743), with the date 1706. Since it is the only post-1694 work it must have ended up in the library by chance.
- 70) See e.g. the list of the contents of the "cistula Anglicana" in the appendix to chapter III.
- 71) See chapter IV, p.100.
- 72) See chapter II, p.56.
- 73) E.g. Elisha Coles, *A Dictionary Latin-English* (see note 35) and the auction catalogues mentioned in the appendix to chapter III.

ENGLISH BOOKS

- 1) BA has Oxford 1649. This is probably due to the following phrase on the title-page of this work: "By Joseph Alford, M.A., sometime of Oriell Colledge in Oxford".
- 2) The fact that this work seems to be bound up with EB 6 (R. Allestree, *The whole duty of man*) suggests Allestree as the

- author. There is however no 1682 edition of *Private Devotions* in Wing.
- 3) Each part of this work (*Prima, Media, etc.*) has a separate title-page with its own date of publication (ranging from 1657 to 1659). In BA they are catalogued as separate works.
 - 4) BA has: *A Dysclosynge or openynge of the Manne of Synne, con-
tayned in the late Declaracyon of the Popes olde faythe made
by Edmonde Boner, Byssshop of London. 1543. 8^o.*
 - 5) There are two 1660 editions in Wing.
 - 6) BA gives no date of publication. The Edinburgh editions are:
Wing B 1477A (1642, 12^o), B 1480 (1649, 12^o), and B 1490A (1672,
12^o).
 - 7) Not a separate book but part of EB 25 *The penitent death*
(Wing B 2016), with a separate title-page *Caveat to the ministry*.
 - 8) There is no London 1680 edition in Wing. Wing B 3661 is Oxford
1680.
 - 9) Ascribed to Io. Hall in BA. This edition is not to be found in
Wing but NUC suggests that it is a reissue of Wing B 4275.
 - 10) Wrongly ascribed to Edw. Benlowes. See NUC.
 - 11) There are three London 1644 (8^o) editions of this work.
 - 12) Id.
 - 13) There are many sermons by Calamy in Wing but no collection of
this title.
 - 14) Another edition of EB 60.
 - 15) STC has the second edition (1611) and the seventh edition (1617).
This is probably another edition not in STC.
 - 16) BA gives no date. Both 1650 and 1685 are therefore possible,
although 1650 is more likely.
 - 17) BA gives 1641. This must be a mistake.
 - 18) Bound up in one volume with EB 98.
 - 19) There are two London 1635 editions.
 - 20) BA has 1651, Wing 1650.
 - 21) BA has 1647.
 - 22) Bound up in one volume with EB 74.
 - 23) Delete.
 - 24) Delete.
 - 25) The work does not occur in Wing but is mentioned in W.G. His-
cock, *The Christ Church Supplement to Wing's Short-Title Cata-
logue* (Oxford, 1956) and R.W. Gibson, *Francis Bacon. A Biblio-
graphy of his works and of Baconiana to the year 1750* (Oxford,
1950). *Gleanings of refreshment* is included in the latter biblio-
graphy since it contains *A Confession of Faith and a Sum of the
Bible* by Bacon. BA gives as author Francis Verulam (i.e. Bacon).
 - 26) Not in Wing.
 - 27) BA has the title: *Idea of a Philosophical-History of Plants*.
This is in fact part of *The Anatomy of Plants* as appears from
the full title given in BLC: *The Anatomy of Plants* [compris-
ing *The Anatomy of vegetables begun, the Anatomy of roots, the*

Anatomy of trunks, etc] with an idea of a philosophical history of plants; and several other lectures, read before the Royal Society. Second edition. [London] 1682. fol.

- 28) There are several 1606 editions: STC 12666, 12666a, 12667, 12667a.
- 29) Wing H 403 is 1645, Wing H 404 is 1652.
- 30) The second part of STC 12710 (*The remedy of prophaneness*, EB 150) has a separate title-page and pagination: *A sermon preach't in the city of Exeter, at the consecration of a new buriall-place, there, on Saint Bartholomews day, Aug. 24, 1637.* London 1637.
- 31) This work does not occur in Wing. There are a number of editions in STC ranging from 1631 to 1640.
- 32) The editions given in Wing are the first (1677), fourth (1686) and fifth (1688) editions. This is probably the second or third edition.
- 33) BA gives 1676. This must be a mistake.
- 34) The BA title is: *familiar letters, domestic and forren.*
- 35) BA has 1658, a mistake?
- 36) BA has 1605. This must be a mistake.
- 37) Not in Wing.
- 38) This is perhaps the third or fourth edition. Cf. Wing P 237 (second ed., 1645) and P 238 (fifth ed., 1655).
- 39) Not in Wing. Anonymous in BA.
- 40) Under Curriehill, Sir John Skene, in Wing.
- 41) The BA title of this work is *Treatise of making religion ones business*. This is in fact the subtitle.
- 42) There are many editions of this work but no 8^o 1651. Wing T 371 is 12^o 1650.
- 43) Wing T 1105 is 16^o 1652.
- 44) BA has Typpin.
- 45) BA has 1632.
- 46) BA has 1632. According to NSTC this work is usually found as part 4 of NSTC 24544 (in this case confirmed by Christoph Arnold in his London letter, see appendix to chapter II, p.73).
- 47) The NSTC editions are 1635, 1636, and 1640. There is no 1638 edition.
- 48) There are two 1670 editions of this work in Wing.

TRANSLATIONS OF ENGLISH WORKS

- 1) No format given in Wing.
- 2) The only French translation in this list.
- 3) This Dutch edition of the complete works of Robert Cleaver and John Dod does not seem to have an English equivalent. Cf. STC 6954-6979) (STC 5378-5392). The work is mentioned in J. van Abkoude, *Naam Register of verzameling van Nederduytsche Boeken* (Leiden, 1743).

- 4) BA title: *Guilielmi Couperi Opera Omnia: Belgice*. The Dutch title can be found in Abkoude, op. cit.
- 5) The author's name is hardly legible in BA. The work could not be identified.
- 6) Bound up in the same volume with TB 33. Not explicitly mentioned in BA.
- 7) BA gives no place of publication.
- 8) The English original is part of a collection of travel-stories by Samuel Purchas.
- 9) The work is mentioned in Abkoude, op. cit., but ascribed to N. (Nehemiah?) Rogers.
- 10) The full title of the English original as given in BLC: *The Shepherd of Israel, or God's pastoral care over his people, delivered in divers sermons on the whole Twenty-third Psalm. Together with the doctrine of Providence practically handled on Matth. X 29-31.*
- 11) Wrongly ascribed to Joseph Hall in BA.

LATIN WORKS PRINTED IN THE BRITISH ISLES

- 1) BA gives: *Tragoedia cum Thomae Stanless Versione et comm.* Londini 1633. fol.
- 2) BA gives: *Ad imperatores de fato et de eo, quod nostrae potestatis est.* Londini 1658. 8^o.
- 3) BA has 1618. A printing error?.
- 4) The title given in BA is: *Exercitationes dianocticae cum historiis et experimentis demonstravis.* Londini 1654. This is in fact the second part of the title.
- 5) NSTC only. Full title in BLC as follows: Bowle, John. Bishop of Rochester. *Concio ad reverendissimos patres et presbyteros totius provinciae Cantuariensis in Synodo Londini congregatos: habita in Ecclesia Cathedrali S. Pauli ...* 1620. Londini 1621. 4^o.
- 6) BA gives 1611. A printing error?
- 7) Catalogued under Oxford in Wing.
- 8) BA has: *Canones ecclesiastici pro Cantuariensi ecclesia, conclusi in Synodo Londini.* Londini 1604. 4^o.
- 9) STC mentions a 1605 edition (5899) and Wing has two editions viz. 1664 and 1676, resp. C 6642 and C C 6643. This must be another edition somewhere in between.
- 10) BA gives as author Duogtheius, Jo.
- 11) BA has: *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae adversus schismat. criminationes.* Londini 1669. 4^o.
- 12) According to STC this book is frequently catalogued under John Durie, the translator. STC files it under "Protestants".
- 13) With notes by John Selden.
- 14) Unidentified.

- 15) BA has John Selden as author and gives the following title: *Contextio gemmarum S. Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrinae Annales. Oxoniae 1658. 4^o.*
- 16) BA has: *Commentarius juris Anglicanae, subjuncta Jo. Seldenii Dissertatio ad Fletam. Londini 1647. 4^o.* There are two 1647 editions.
- 17) BA-title: *Considerationes controversiarum de justificatione. Londini 1658. 8^o.*
- 18) Not in Wing. STC has 1636 and 1637 editions. Is this another edition or is 1641 a mistake?
- 19) BA gives: *Tractatus de pace ecclesiasticae. Londini 1639. 8^o.*
- 20) Wing I 37 is *Ignatii Polycarpi et Barnabae Epistolae. Oxoniae 1643. 4^o.* According to the synopsis *Graecorum Ignatii* etc. is part VI of this work. In the copy which I consulted (O, the only copy mentioned in Wing) part of V and the whole of part VI are missing, however.
- 21) According to the synopsis of *Ignatii Polycarpi* etc. (Wing I 37) part II of that work. BA gives the date 1644, whereas this copy has 1643. Part II and part VI of Wing I 37 were probably published separately.
- 22) BA has: *Liturgia Anglicana una cum psalterio. Londini 1681. 12^o.*
- 23) There are two books by Loss in Wing (L 3080A and 3081) but not this one.
- 24) BA-title: *Marmora Oxoniensia ex Arundellianis, Seldenianis aliisque constata, cum commentario Humphredi Prideaux. Under Oxford in Wing.*
- 25) BA has 1648, probably a mistake.
- 26) Wing gives only the initials M.T., BA has the full name.
- 27) Id.
- 28) BA-title: *Institutiones Astronom. Londini 1676. 8^o.*
- 29) Wing has the name of the author in between square brackets.
- 30) There are a great many 12^o 1651 editions, viz. M 2167-2168, 2168A, 2168B, 2168C, 2168D, 2168E.
- 31) There are three 1634 editions of this work, viz. NSTC 17993, NSTC 17993a, NSTC 17993b.
- 32) BA has 1640 instead of 1641.
- 33) Under "Talmud, minor tractates" in BLC. Full title there: *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan [sic]...hebrew ... Tractatus de patribus in linguam latinam translatus ... opera F. Taileri* etc. 1654. 4^o.
- 34) BA has: *Sancti Patricii adscripta opera. Londini 1656. 8^o.*
- 35) There are cross references NSTC-Wing. Both mention this book.
- 36) BLC refers to Molinaeus Ludovicus = Louis du Moulin. Full title: *Irenaei Philadelphi (i.e. L. Molinaei) Epistola ad Renatum Veriaceum (i.e. Andr. Rivetum) in qua aperitur mysterium iniquitatis novissime in Anglia redevivum et excutitur liber J. Halli quo assertit episcopatum esse juris divini.* There are two editions: [London?] and Eleutheso. 1641.4^o. This is probably the "[London?]" edition.

- 37) BA has 1653 instead of 1652.
- 38) The BA-title is: *Lectiones de religionis captibus, hoc tempore controversis*. Oxonii 1648. fol.
- 39) Catalogued under Bible, Greek, in Wing. The BA-title is: *Psalterium gr. et. lat. juxta exemplar Alexandrinum*.
- 40) BA gives: *Harmonicorum libri in gr. et lat. redd. notisque instructi a Jo. Wallis*.
- 41) Unidentified.
- 42) BA has Wray, Jo.
- 43) This book is part of Wing M 1730, Mercator, N., *Logarithmo-technia*
- 44) BA-title: *Vindiciae de Scriptione Maris Clausi*.
- 45) BA gives: *Leges & Statuta Regni Scotiae*.
- 46) BA has Steelman, Henry. This must be Spelman.
- 47) BA-title: *Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum & Latino-Britannicum*. Londini 1632 (instead of 1631).
- 48) NSTC suggests Frankfort instead of London.
- 49) Catalogued under Bible, Persian, in Wing.

LATIN EDITIONS OF BRITISH AUTHORS PRINTED ABROAD

- 1) STC 53 is the English original of this work, *The old way. A sermon preached at Oxford*. London 1610. 4^o.
- 2) The place of publication given is "bibliopolio commeliano" i.e. Heidelberg.
- 3) For Barclay see chapter IV, p.113. Ample proof for the popularity of *Argenis* is provided by Shaaber who gives no less than 40 pre-1640 editions.
- 4) Wing B 725 is the English original of this work, *A catechism and confession of faith*. London 1673. 8^o.
- 5) Wing B 1079 is the Edinburgh edition of this work, published in 1650. It can also be found in BA (LB 16).
- 6) CB 15 is the second ed. The work was originally published in London in 1649 (Wing B 3370).
- 7) Unidentified.
- 8) Part of *Tentamina Physiologica* (CB 23).
- 9) Wing B 3998 is the English original of this work, *New experiments physico-mechanicall*. Oxford 1660. 8^o.
- 10) STC 3618 is the English original of this work, *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages and religions*. London 1614. 4^o.
- 11) STC 3852 is *Daniel his Chaldie visions and his Ebrew*. London 1590. 4^o. Cf. also STC 3854.
- 12) STC 3850 is the English original of this work, *A conceit of scripture*. London 1590. 4^o.
- 13) For Thomas Carve see chapter IV, pp.111-112.
- 14) The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: 327.J.251.
- 15) For this and the following works by Durie, see chapter IV, p.112.
- 16) The NUC entry does not mention *Henochismus*.

- 17) BLC gives 1643. This and the following work by Hall were published under the pseudonym of Mercurius Britannicus.
- 18) This work is also listed in STC since its place of publication might be London. See chapter IV, p.113.
- 19) BLC has 1660 but adds that there is a title page with the date 1661.
- 20) Full NUC title: *Exercitationes duae. Quarum prior De passione hysterica; altera De affectione hypochondriaca*. Amstelodami 1660. 12^o.
- 21) A new edition of Johnston's works, published at Middelburg.
- 22) Shaaber L 301 is Venice 1499. fol.
- 23) Wing M 1605 is *A paraphrase and exposition of the prophetie of Saint Peter*. London 1642. 4^o.
- 24) Shaaber has no Amsterdam 1630 edition. O 91 is Amst. 1632, O 92 is Amst. 1633.
- 25) The puritan divine Robert Parker fled the country and settled in Leyden. Shaaber P 17 is a Frankfort 1616 edition of this work. No 1638 edition is mentioned.
- 26) NSTC 19764 is the English original of this work, *A warning against the idolatrie of the last times*. Cambridge 1601. 8^o.
- 27) This work consists of translations of *The foundation of Christian religion* (NSTC 19709, London 1590); *An exposition of the symbole* (NSTC 19703, London 1595); *An exposition of the Lords prayer* (NSTC 19700, London 1592); extracts from *A golden chaine* (NSTC 19657, London 1590).
- 28) Wing P 4098 is the English original, *The sword of the christian magistracy supported*. London 1647. 4^o.
- 29) There is also an English version of this work, Wing T 3114, *A true state of the case of the Commonwealth of England*. London 1654. 4^o.
- 30) See chapter IV, p.112.
- 31) NSTC 22265 is the English original of this work, *A true reporte of the laste voyage into the west and northwest regions, etc. 1577. worthily atchieved by capteine Frobisher*. London 1577. 8^o.
- 32) Shaaber S 280 is a Leyden edition of 1630.
- 33) BLC gives the name John Cooke. Cf. John Cooke, *King Charles his case*. London 1649. 4^o. Wing C 6025.
- 34) NSTC 23821 is the English original of this work, *Christ revealed*. London 1635. 4^o.
- 35) NSTC 25356 is the English original of this work, *The tree of humane life, or, the bloud of the grape*. London 1638. 8^o.
- 36) Shaaber W 46 and 47 are other editions of the same work, resp. Herbornae 1590 and 1600.
- 37) Shaaber W 51 is a 1607 edition of the same work.
- 38) This work is related to a dispute Sir Henry Wotton had with Gaspar Scoppius, a Roman Catholic controversialist. No edition could be located.

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. *Manuscripts*

Erlangen University Library:

Briefsammlung Trew, letters Chr. Arnold to S.A. Fabricius and J.G. Volckamer; extracts from letters of Andr. Arnold and Ch. Patin (36 letters or fragments (1649-1684))

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek:

Sup e 23,6; 4^o 3,84,86,88,90, letters Chr. Arnold to J.H. Boecler (1661-1670)

4^o 39, 11-15, copies of letters Chr. Arnold to F.B. Carpzov (1676-1681)

4^o 39,15-16, copies of letters Andr. Arnold to F.B. Carpzov (1686-1688)

4^o 39,12, copy of a letter N. Heinsius to Chr. Arnold (1679)

Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek:

Autogr. 858-902, correspondence Christoph-Andreas (1682-1685)

Amb. 98. 4^o, "Berichte über durchreisende Griechische Geistliche 1669-1673", a MS. notebook by Chr. Arnold.

Nürnberg Stadtarchiv:

Gen. Pap. El Arnold, extracts letters J.Chr. Wagenseil to Chr. Arnold

Nürnberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv:

Traubuch St. Sebald, Jg. 1698

Oldenburg, Staatsarchiv:

Tit. XXXXVIII no. 73, diary of H. Mylius (1651)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek:

226 Blankenburg, album amicorum Andr. Arnold (1678-1689)

London, British Library:

MS. Egerton 1324, album amicorum Chr. Arnold (1649-1673)

MS. Burney 369, letter Chr. Arnold to M. Casaubon (1651)

London, Royal Society:

MS. Letter Books, I, viii, letter Andr. Arnold to Th. Haak (1683)

Oxford, Bodleian Library:

MS. Selden Supra 108, letter Chr. Arnold to J. Selden (1652)

MS. Wood E5, list of foreign visitors admitted to the Bodleian

MS. D'Orville 470, copies of letters Andr. Arnold to I. Vossius (1682-1685)

MS. Smith 46, letters Andr. Arnold to Th. Smith (1682)

MS. Barocci 76 and 111, Greek MSS. used by Andr. Arnold

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Gron. 100 I, letter Sam. Tennulius to Andr. Arnold (1681?)

Burm. F 6b, letters Andr. Arnold to N. Heinsius (1680-1681)

BPL 1886, letter J.G. Graevius to Andr. Arnold (1683)

Hug 37, letter Andr. Arnold to C. Huygens (1681)

Burm. Codex no. II^{II}, copies of letters Andr. Arnold to I. Vossius (1682-1685)

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III. AN ARNOLD BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliographical survey of the works written by or edited by Christoph and Andreas Arnold and of the works to which they made a substantial contribution

The short titles of the works are given in chronological order. Following the title and other data the location of the consulted copy (ies) is (are) given, or in those cases where the work itself could not be examined the bibliographical source. The following library symbols are used:

- C: Cambridge University Library
E: Erlangen University Library
F: Faber du Fauer, C., *German Baroque Literature* (see Bibl. Part II)
GNM: Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg
GPB: *Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Bibliotheken*, Berlin 1935
J: Jöcher, Chr. G., *Gelehrten-Lexicon* (see Bibl. Part II)
KB: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
L: British Library, London
LKN: Landeskirchliches Archiv, Nuremberg
N: Nijmegen University Library
NUC: *National Union Catalog*
O: Bodleian Library, Oxford
SBN: Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg
W: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

A. Christoph Arnold

[Contr.] *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, Nürnberg 1641-1649. In the years 1645-1646 Arnold wrote some poems for this project. N (facsimile copy).

[Contr.] *Lustgedicht zu hochzeitlichen Ehrenbegängniss Herrn D. Johann Röders*, Nürnberg 1645. NUC

[Contr.] Klaj, J., *Gekrönten Poetens Engel- und Drachenstreit*, Nürnberg 1645. F.

Oratio de Constantino M. contra obtrectatores eiusdem, 1646. In Chr. Ad. Rupertus *Orator historicus*, Noribergae 1663. E, KB, W.

Janus oratione philologicae, Noribergae 1648. E, L.

Septem quaestiunculae philosophicae, Palaecomae [Altdorf], 1648. In a collection of *disputationes* supervised by J.P. Felwinger. E, LKN.

[Contr.] Ormond *Das ist, Lieb- und Heldengedicht in welchem des Hoflebens sitten etc. ... verfasst von dem weitberühmten Italiäner Francesco Pona etc.*, Franckfurt 1648. Contains a laudatory poem by Arnold. F.

[Contr.] *Poetische Aufzüge zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren des ... Herrn Wolfgang Achatius Gutbrods etc.*, Nürnberg 1649. F.

- Kunstspiegel hoch-Teutscher Sprache*, Nürnberg 1649. E.
- Templum Pacis Germanicae*, Lugd. Bat. 1650. C.
- Val. Catonis grammatici Dirae*, Lugd. Bat. 1652. L, O, E, SBN, W.
- [Contr.] Dilherr, J.M., *Geistliches Klaghaus Oder Christliche Leichpredigten*, Nürnberg 1655.
- Linguae Latinae Ornatus*, Norimbergae 1657. The first of seven editions. SBN, W.
- [Contr.] Vernulaeus, N., *De arte dicendi*, Norimbergae 1658. Arnold's contribution consists of a list of hundred points to be observed in writing an oratio. E.
- [Ed.] Rupertus, Chr. Ad., *Mercurius epistolaris*, Noribergae 1659. NUC
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CURRICULUM VITAE

F.J.M. Blom was born in Nijmegen on 24 October 1945. He was educated at St. Dominicus College, Nijmegen and at Peter Kanis teachers' training-college. After some years of teaching at secondary schools he began his studies at the University of Nijmegen in 1971 and passed his "doctoraalexamen" in English in 1975. During the academic year 1976-1977 he studied at Oxford. Since 1975 he has been teaching English literature at the University of Nijmegen.

1

Het onderzoek van alba amicorum kan een belangrijke bijdrage leveren tot de kennis van de betrekkingen tussen zeventiende eeuwse geleerden.

2

Het feit dat J. Milton French in zijn *Life Records of John Milton* (New Brunswick, 1949-1958) beweert dat de datum (a.d. 7 Aug. 1651 A.S.) van Arnolds Londense brief aan Georg Richter moet worden opgevat als 26 juli, bewijst dat hij de brief zelf niet gelezen heeft.

3

De nadruk die Christoph Arnold legt op de feiten in zijn selectieve vertaling van Sir Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall* is, behalve kenmerkend voor Arnolds persoonlijke interesse, ook illustratief voor het ontstaan van de belangstelling voor archeologie in de loop van de zeventiende eeuw.

4

Het serieus bespreken van Andreas Arnolds "champignon experiment" tijdens de bijeenkomsten van de Royal Society (cf. Th. Birch, *The History of the Royal Society*, IV, 199) toont aan dat Swift niet helemaal ongelijk had in zijn satire op dit genootschap in boek III van *Gulliver's Travels*.

5

Iemand die er in de zeventiende of achttiende eeuw niet in geslaagd is door te dringen tot een biografisch woordenboek of een "Gelehrtenlexicon" lijkt gedoemd voorgoed obscuur te moeten blijven. Het zou daarom bij het opnieuw redigeren van dergelijke biografische werken nuttig zijn om nog eens terug te gaan naar de bronnen, ook in verband met het corrigeren van veelvuldig gekopieerde fouten.

6

Het verdient aanbeveling achttiende eeuwse poëzie te handhaven aan het begin van de universitaire letterkunde studie Engels, dit, behalve vanwege de intrinsieke waarde, vooral ook als een nuttig correctiemiddel op de instelling van de aankomende student ten opzichte van de letterkunde.

Wanneer Matthew Arnold zijn *Culture and Anarchy* in de huidige tijd geschreven zou hebben, zou het hem niet aan illustratief materiaal ontbroken hebben.

Wanneer de tijd en het geld besteed aan het bedenken, invullen en uitwerken van de talrijke formulieren van diverse instanties ter inventarisatie van het wetenschappelijk onderzoek aan het onderzoek zelf besteed zouden worden, zou dat een krachtige stimulans voor dit onderzoek betekenen.

Het grootste gevaar dat de nieuwe studieprogramma's in het kader van de huidige herstructurering bedreigt, is niet zozeer de verkorting van de studieduur als wel de versplintering van de studie.

Bij de studie van de letterkunde dient uitgegaan te worden van de grondige kennis van een concrete literatuur. Pas in een later stadium kan een meer abstracte en theoretische benadering wellicht zinvol zijn.

Stellingen behorende bij F.J.M.Blom, *Christoph & Andreas Arnold and England*, Nijmegen 1981.

the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are aged 65 and over has increased by 1.5 million (19.5%) and the number of people aged 75 and over has increased by 1.1 million (22.5%) (Office of National Statistics 1999).

There is a growing awareness of the need to develop services to meet the needs of older people. The Department of Health (1999) has set out a vision for the future of health care for older people. This vision is based on the principle that older people should be able to live as independently as possible, in their own homes, and to be able to access the services they need to do so. This vision is being put into practice through a number of initiatives, including the development of new services and the restructuring of existing services.

One of the key initiatives is the development of new services to meet the needs of older people. This includes the development of new services for the prevention of illness and the promotion of health, the development of new services for the management of chronic illness, and the development of new services for the management of end-of-life care. The restructuring of existing services is also a key initiative. This includes the restructuring of services to ensure that they are better coordinated and more efficient, and the restructuring of services to ensure that they are better able to meet the needs of older people.

The restructuring of existing services is being done in a number of ways. One way is by merging services that are similar or related. Another way is by restructuring services to ensure that they are better coordinated and more efficient. A third way is by restructuring services to ensure that they are better able to meet the needs of older people. This is being done in a number of ways, including the development of new services and the restructuring of existing services.

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